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NATIONAL CONFERENCE on EDUCATION, TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER, 15th and 16th January, 1868.

PRESIDENTS.

The Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, M.P.
W. E. Forster, Esq., M.P.

The conference will be open to delegates of localities and public bodies who are favourable to a national system of primary instruction supported by local rates and under local administration.

The business of the first day will be to discuss the principles of the Bill introduced last session by the Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, W. E. Forster, Esq., and the Hon. A. Egerton, M.P., together with any desirable modifications of the rules of the Committee of Council.

The business of the second day will be to discuss clauses proposed to be moved for in committee by Thos. Bazley, Esq., M.P., giving power to school committees to compel the attendance of neglected children.

Further information may be had on application to THOS. BROWNING, secretary of the Conference Committee, York Chambers, Manchester.

CENTRAL ASSOCIATION for STOPPING the SALE of INTOXICATING LIQUORS on SUNDAY.

The Executive of the above Association, regarding the Bill lately introduced into Parliament by John Abel Smith, Esq., M.P., as unsatisfactory, is taking steps to amend the Bill so as to extend the operation of its restrictive clauses to the whole of Sunday. Our travelling Secretary, the Rev. William Stanzer, M.A., will shortly visit the principal cities and towns of the country. These extended operations necessitate an increased pecuniary support.

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WEEK of UNIVERSAL PRAYER—JANUARY 5—12, 1868.

The attention of Christians is earnestly called to the approaching Week of United Prayer, and it is hoped arrangements will be made for holding meetings in each town and city throughout the United Kingdom.

Papers with the subjects suggested for daily prayer and address may be had on application to the Secretaries of the Evangelical Alliance, 7, Adam-street, Strand, London, W.C.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

FACULTY OF MEDICINE.—The classes will recommence on THURSDAY, January 2nd, 1868.

FACULTY OF ARTS.—The LENT TERM will commence on THURSDAY, January 2nd, 1868. In most of the classes such a division of the subjects is made as enables students to enter with advantage at this period.

The SCHOOL for BOYS between the ages of seven and sixteen.—The LENT TERM will begin for new pupils at 9·30 a.m., on TUESDAY, January 14th, 1868. Former pupils must return on the following day.

The EVENING CLASSES for Classics, Modern Languages, Mathematics, the Natural Sciences, Law, &c.—The LENT TERM will commence on MONDAY, January 13, 1868.

Prospectuses of the various departments of the College, containing full information respecting classes, fees, days and hours of attendance, &c., and copies of the regulations relating to the entrance and other exhibitions, scholarships, and prizes, open to competition by students of the several Faculties, may be obtained at the office of the college on application either personal or by letter.

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JOHN ROBSON, B.A., Secretary to the Council.

December 18, 1867.

NEW COLLEGE, LONDON.—The CLASSES will MEET again after the Christmas recess on MONDAY, January 6, 1868. The fees, and in most of the classes the subjects, are so arranged that lay students can conveniently enter at this period of the session.

Early in January, Dr. LANKESTER, F.R.S., will begin a course of Lectures on Chemistry, and another on Physiology, with special reference to the matriculation and B.A. Examinations in the University of London.

The Sessional Syllabus and all other necessary information may be obtained on application to the Secretary, at the College, Finchley New-road, N.W.

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URGENT APPEAL.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

"WATCHMAN! WHAT OF THE NIGHT?"

THIS being our last day of publication for the present year, we naturally pause to cast a hasty glance over the region we have traversed during its course. As travellers who, having towards eventide surmounted the ridge which in the morning bounded their horizon, stop and look back upon the landscape through which their day's journey has led them, and who try to impress upon their remembrance the leading features of the scene which will presently be lost to their view, so we, in company with our circle of readers, having all but reached that point of time which marks the division of one year from another, desire, before the separating line is crossed, to gather up an idea of the ground we have passed over since the dawn of 1867, and to form a rough estimate of our progress towards our destined goal. We have no intention just now of indulging ourselves with a retrospect of events—we wish rather to catch, if we can, their general significance. At times, it is useful, as well as pleasant, to retrace from fact to fact the several stages of our career, and to study them afresh in the light of recollection; and at times, it may better serve us to survey the past in the aspect which it presents as a whole, and to take note of those intimations of approaching changes which it vouchsafes to watchful observation. This latter is our present object—namely, to look out for those characteristics of the bygone twelvemonth which contain within them something prophetic of the time to come. We need hardly say that the glance we cast behind us will have exclusive reference to ecclesiastical affairs.

We remark then, in the first place, that the year 1867 has been fuller than any that preceded it of indications of a rapidly growing impatience with the restraints of law in matters pertaining to religious sentiment and duty. We can call to mind the time when within the pale of the Church Establishment there was an unbroken repose of spirit. In the ignorance which is bliss, her children soundly slept, and enjoyed pleasant dreams. There were then, as now, differing shades of faith, but they were not mutually contradictory, and they blended into what appeared to be a harmony of colour. A general law of authority operated to benumb, if not to suppress, all feeling of individual responsibility with reference to the teachings and the practices of the National Church—and within that sacred enclosure the vast majority of living souls took their rest undisturbed. In this respect, the contrast presented by the now expiring year has been so marked and startling as to attract universal notice. Men seem to have discovered within themselves a rule of obligation which they are not at liberty to set aside in deference to rules made for them by other minds, and while they have exercised their utmost ingenuity to reconcile new duties with old restraints, they have made no scruple in giving the preference to their personal conviction whenever it crossed the line of their corporate ecclesiastical life. The Ritualistic movement, the strenuous opposition it has excited, the gaspings of the Broad Church for more air, the *naïve* confessions uttered at Church Congresses, the deliberations and resolutions of the Pan-Anglican Synod, and even the ecclesiastical suits which one party is waging against another—what do they all indicate but that, within the Established Church, the force of individual conviction is everywhere getting the better of super-imposed human authority, and that when people have begun to think for themselves, and to ask direction of their own consciences, they soon find themselves obliged either to twist legalised prescription to suit their own views, or, if that cannot be done, to step across it? The general commotion of parties within the Church of England throughout the past year, the sharp antagonisms which have racked her bosom, the bold disregard of her authority which has been here and there displayed, and the increasing disintegration of her component masses, unsightly as they must needs be in their own nature, prove two things, both of which may be regarded with profoundest interest—first, that underneath the Establishment there is being generated a vast amount of what we may describe as elementary and inorganic religious life; and second, that it is becoming more and more impatient of the legal restrictions which the existence of the Church, as a State Church, necessarily imposes upon it.

There is another characteristic of the year which projects a beam of light into the future. The Church of England has begun to take note of the distinction which is observable between a Church considered as a spiritual institution, and the same Church considered as a National Establishment. Nay, what is of more interest to us, she has showed during the past year in several ways that a deep presentiment of her approaching end as a State Church has taken hold upon her. Perhaps, few of her most thoughtful members, clerical or lay, anticipate the dissolution of the ties which unite her to the Civil Power, within the range of the present generation. But there are also but few of them who have not come to see that the device which used to be lauded as the best proof of the wisdom of the ancients, and the most precious inheritance of their descendants, is getting to be more and more manifestly unsuited to the wants of the times. They hint, sometimes directly, sometimes obliquely, their consciousness of the fact, that "the outward man is perishing," even if "the inward man is being renewed day by day." They speak of the political status of their Church as very old men are wont to speak of their physical life—as, in the nature of things, advancing towards its close. They are even beginning to prepare for an independent existence. Bishops are taking counsel with bishops, without regard to any national tie of association, and clergymen as well as laymen are casting about for broader and more charitable relations towards "them that are without." Now all this, it must be confessed, is novel, to say the least of it. A very short time ago, they who were working for a separation of Church and State were taunted with aiming at an impracticable result. "You might just as well cry for the moon," was the sort of contemptuous rebuke which their efforts pretty commonly provoked. This year the drift of public opinion has been quite in the opposite direction. Anglicans of high authority have admitted, not merely the possibility, but the probability of the change we seek—and statesmen have begun to talk of it as only a question of time. Need we point out the inevitable consequence of this growing mistrust in the perpetuity of existing ecclesiastical arrangements? Must it not weaken the defences of the Establishment? Should it not reanimate assailants?

A third characteristic of 1867 challenges notice. Outside of the Establishment, one may say, a vast and powerful political machinery has been erected, the force of which may presently be brought to bear against the sole remaining legalised monopoly in the United Kingdom. The year, therefore, has brought with it this incalculable advantage, that we have now, what we never had before, an adequate leverage for the overthrow of the system which we have all along regarded as on the whole prejudicial to the religious training of the people. No doubt it will require time and some ineffectual experiments to learn how to use that leverage with certainty of success. But there it is. We have it within reach. We know what it can be made to do. We see clearly what the work is which we shall have to perform, and how to set about it. We hold in our hands, we may say, the instrument which is strong enough for the purpose we are intent upon effecting. We are in the position of engineers who can calculate the mechanical forces they have at their disposal, and who are satisfied that they will suffice to overcome all the obstacles they have to encounter. It has so happened, moreover, that the disturbed condition of Ireland, and the necessity which is everywhere acknowledged of dealing with the Irish Church, have already disposed the popular constituencies to use their franchise for the excision of that useless and mischievous branch of the Church Establishment, and that no very great exertion will be necessary to commence the work of abolition in the sister isle upon the soundest possible basis. The case there will not admit of compromise—will scarcely admit of delay—and yet the case there hardly differs in its essential features from the same case in Wales, in Scotland, and even in England also.

To our apprehension, the year 1867 has immensely changed the prospects of the friends of religious equality. Reverting to our first illustration, we may fairly indulge in the joy of those who are leaving behind them a difficult and sterile region, and may now look forward to more rapid progress, and to easier maintenance by the way. This is the impression made upon our minds by the retrospect of the year about to expire—and under the pleasing influence of this impression we are able with the more cheerfulness of heart to wish our readers of all classes, "A merry Christmas and a happy new year."

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

WE are not aware that any attempt has been made to give a brief statement of a case which is likely to occupy a very high position in the history of English ecclesiastical law. We refer to Martin *v.* Mackonochie, upon which Mr. Stephens has made a speech of four days' duration before the Court of Arches, and which now stands adjourned until "after Christmas." The importance of this suit will be evident by the fact that it is taken up by the Church Association on the one side, and the English Church Union on the other. It is not a private warfare. The disputants are the Evangelical and the Ritualistic parties in the Established Church, and we were told at the recent Conference at Willis's Rooms that it would probably cost the former some 4,000*l.*

Mr. Stephens's ability as an advocate, and his special ability as an advocate learned in ecclesiastical law, naturally pointed him out as a leader in this case, although he will not be the only speaker even on his own side, for Mr. Coleridge and Dr. Swabey are likely to follow him. On the other side are Mr. W. James, Mr. Prideaux, and Dr. Tristram. The programme of the whole argument may, however, be learned from Mr. Stephens's speech. The foundation of his case appears to be that only those rites

and ceremonies which were actually mentioned and order in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. are lawful, and that it was intended that all rites and ceremonies not expressly mentioned there are unlawful. There was a clever point made in the course of his first day's speech. He showed that all former service-books were ordered to be destroyed, and if this was the case it was obvious that no other service but that expressly authorised by the new book could be used. Hence, amongst other things, incense was not allowed, for although it was in the old mass-books which had been called in and burned, it was not to be found in the new Prayer-book. The ceremonies, he said, which were not retained were abolished, and this, in reply to the Dean of Arches, he laid down as a universal proposition. This proposition necessarily forbade the use of lights during daytime, for there was no mention of lights in King Edward's book. The object, he maintained, of destroying the old service-books, was to confine the clergy exclusively to the rites and ceremonies prescribed by this book. As this is evidently intended to be the cardinal point of the Evangelical argument, we quote a part of Mr. Stephens's corroborative evidence,—

In 1548 the Privy Council issued an order to Archbishop Cranmer directing him to command deans and chapters, bishops, clergy, and churchwardens in every diocese to collect all missals, breviaries, mass-books, manuals, legends, primers, processionals, and journals —whether used in public or in private—and all and every books of service the keeping whereof tended to let the usage prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer; that they should take the same books in their hands, and deface and abolish them that they could never thereafter serve for any such use, or be a let to godly and uniform order. On the 4th of February, 1549—50, the Archbishop issued the order which he was so required to make, having, however, waited to do so until the Act 3 & 4 Edward VI. cap. 10, had been passed, which Act was meant "for the abolishing and putting away of the divers books and images," agreeably, as is stated, to the order of the primitive Church; and to secure that nothing should be retained but that which was founded upon the pure Word of God; that everything which was corrupt, vain, superstitious—everything which, being allowed to remain undefaced and unabolished, would give occasion to diversity of opinion, rites, ceremonies, or services, should be abolished. It would seem as if that Act were framed for the special purpose of meeting such a state of things as had now arisen in the Church. It went on to enact that all mass-books, missals, legends, &c., "and every other book whatsoever heretofore used for the service of the Church," whether in Latin or English, written or printed, other than those set forth by the King's Majesty, or issued by the authority of the Act, should be abolished, extinguished, and forbidden for ever to be used or kept. And in the 5th section it was enacted that, as to certain books which it refers to, all that related to the invocation of saints should be blotted out. All other books, save the Prayer-book of Edward VI., were to be destroyed, "so that there should be through the whole realm one uniform conformity," which could not be attained if any of the old service-books were retained. In the reign of Elizabeth the old service-books which had been in use before the First Book of Edward VI. were abolished; because, if they had been kept in force, they would have let in all the mischief which that book had attempted to correct, and diversity, not uniformity, of practice would have prevailed. In 1561 the bishops met and passed a resolution that "all the old service-books be defaced and abolished by order in visitation."

One specific charge, made against Mr. Mackonochie, that he had illegally elevated the elements of the Eucharist for adoration, was proved in the same way, and the custom of using the mixed chalice fell into a similar category. Mr. Stephens concluded a four days' speech of the most elaborate yet clear character, by pointing out modern tendencies and illustrations of Ritualism. His speech, like that in defence of one of the "Essayists and Reviewers," is remarkable for these two characteristics. There is no doubt as to what he means, and no doubt as to the goodness of much of the immense mass of evidence that he brings in proof of his position. If the battle is to be fought out "on this line," it will be a very simple case which the judge will have to decide. Supposing the Evangelicals should win it after the appeal to the Privy Council which will naturally follow, the State will of course issue Edward the Sixth's Prayer-book afresh for the guidance of embarrassed clergymen. As for the Church, it must submit, as it may and always does. It will be a dreadful disappointment to some clergymen that they cannot rely upon the counsuls of the Dark Ages instead of those of the Dawn of the Reformation, but as they belong to a law Church they must put up with it. For ourselves our action remains as it has always been.

From the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. to the last speech of an American bishop, is a leap in time and circumstance which gives the intellectual system not a little wrench. One of the last created of American bishops, named from now familiar Tennessee, was speaking at King's College last week on the American system of education. If any of our readers should be misled by this gentleman's address, we may remind them that he stood, as most of his brethren did, on the side of slavery during the recent war, and that it is most natural for such a man not to stand on the side of liberty upon any other question. We have read his speech with some care, and we find the gist of it to be that the American system is bad because it is not made an engine of sectarian proselytism. His picture of society in America differs from every other that we have seen drawn, and we are afraid that it will always be of the same dark hue so long as the Americans care no more for bishops than they do for presbyters, and care for either only as they give claim for reverence, not by their assumptions but by their moral qualifications. You see, Episcopacy does not flourish in the country of the Puritans, and the bishop holds, as he says, that "the Church, Primitive, Catholic, and Apostolic, as planted in America, was endowed with power, and she alone, to present to all people the highest idea of Christian civilisation." Now, with the meaning which the bishop attaches to these words, the more religious class of the American people have not the smallest sympathy with such a doctrine. The bishop would like to have the education of the people handed over to "the Church," that is, his own Church, and as long as this is not done, education will, you may depend upon it, be dreadfully defective in his eyes.

There is a very curious article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of last week upon English Congregationalism, which we could imagine to have been written by some Congregationalist who is in but not "of" the body. The writer says that English Dissent is a very powerful element in society, but that most educated Englishmen know little about it. As the *Pall Mall* is avowedly written for this class, we may presume that what follows is intended to enlighten them. The writer proceeds to say that Calvinistic Congregationalism is the most marked form of Dissent, and then he defines Calvinism, ending his description by the pretty strong assertion that it is "at war with ordinary morality." Then follows a paragraph on the mode in which it has been customary to admit members to these Calvinistic churches, but it is stated that this custom is breaking down, and that there is a nearer conformity to the world than there used to be. Calvinism, in fact, is being given up, and this is the present and future programme, and this the doom of Dissent:—

The ablest men among the Dissenters have long seen that the Calvinistic side of their theology and institutions was not in accordance with the temper of the times, and strong efforts have therefore been made within the last thirty or forty years to shift the centre of gravity from Calvinism to Voluntaryism. So long as Church-rates remain unrepealed, the irritation which they excite keeps together a large party under the banner of the anti-State Church agitation. But it seems doubtful whether the complete voluntary programme is likely to command equal support. The working men seem indifferent; the upper classes, and those who wish to stand well with the upper classes, are almost universally opposed to it, and that without distinction of politics. Such as it is, however, it is the only bond of opinion among Dissenters which seems likely to be permanent. And its prominence among them at present has this drawback, that it alienates the members, especially the younger members, of the prosperous would-be conservative class among them, and strengthens the attraction which the Church, by its social advantages, continually exerts in those regions. Should the principle of comprehension prevail in the Church of England, liberty of opinion will be more secure in the Establishment than in the sects. Should the Church of England go to pieces to-morrow each of the bodies which might spring from its ruins would exercise an irresistible attraction over the corresponding divisions of opinion which the present Dissenting organisations comprise.

Something like this has been said before, but somehow or other the Free Churches go on increasing in numbers and in influence. There is more in the philosophy of Dissent than this writer dreams of.

THE IRISH CHURCH QUESTION.

TOWN MEETING AT NEWCASTLE.

On Monday evening, Dec. 16, in compliance with a requisition of some three hundred of the inhabitants, the Mayor convened a meeting in the New Town Hall, to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament to take measures for the State's resuming of its endowments of the Irish Church, and applying them to national and unsectarian purposes. The meeting was the first of a series intended to be held throughout the country on this subject. The Mayor (Henry Angus, Esq.) occupied the chair, and while bespeaking a fair hearing for the speakers, declined to express any opinions himself on the merits of the question.

The Rev. H. T. ROBJOHNS then read a letter from Mr. Headlam, one of the members for the borough, in which he said that the question was difficult and delicate. Mr. Headlam said:—

Supposing the revenues of the Irish Protestant Church appropriated to secular objects, education would be the primary object. The Roman Catholic Church would insist upon the education being under their management and control, and that it should be applied for the maintenance and promotion of Roman Catholic principles. If this were refused, they would not be friendly to the proposal. If carried against their will, and the funds appropriated otherwise than according to their wish, then another standing grievance.

On the whole, I had rather not commit myself—(loud laughter),—but wait and see what is proposed, and whether it is likely to tend to peace and good will, and be cordially accepted. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. BAINBRIDGE said he hoped to give a more certain note than their hon. member. They had met to condemn an institution which had been condemned by orators, by statesmen, by historians, philosophers, and by divines—divines of all churches—but it had also been condemned most chiefly by itself—self-condemned by its origin, its history, and by its present condition—the Irish Church. (Cheers.)

He was not going to give them a statistical account of populations, creeds, or of the different persons who belonged to it, or any elaborate statement as to the nature or amount of its revenues. Fortunately, the whole thing lay in a small space; he would give them what the last official account said of the Irish Church, which would tell its own tale. The Irish population in 1861 amounted to 5,788 000; of that number 523,000 were Presbyterians, 693,000—equal to one eighth—were of the Established Church, then of other denominations there were about 72,000, while of Roman Catholics there were 4,500,000. Again, if they looked at the revenue, they found this state of things:—The bishops of the Established Irish Church had an income of 55,000*l.*, there were benefices amounting to 400,000*l.*, and there was in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners a capital which gave an income of 110,000*l.*, a-year, and which was applied to strictly ecclesiastical purposes. The whole income of the Established Irish Church was reckoned to be 610,000*l.* from all sources, representing a capital of sixteen or eighteen or twenty millions of money, and all which was enjoyed by one-eighth part of the population of Ireland. (Cries of "Shame.") If they looked a little closer into the question, they would find some things which would appear most melancholy. They had in the official list 199 livings where there were no Episcopalians at all. And these were not small livings. There was one with an income of 159*l.* a-year, and another with an income of 369*l.* a-year. Again, they had some with two Protestants—whether that was reckoning a clergyman and his wife or maiden sister—(laughter)—or mother, they did not know—but there they were, in the enjoyment of 200*l.* a-year, and no doubt very content they were. Again, they had some livings with only one—he supposed that really did not mean the parson himself. (Laughter.) But the most astounding thing he could come to was the Deanery of Limerick, where there seemed to be only one person to administer to, and that was the dean himself. (Laughter.)

It was quite clear that if the people in Ireland were left to themselves there would be no Irish Established Church as it at present existed. He paid a tribute to Lord Grey for the earnest desire which he evinced to do his best when the question before them was brought before Parliament two years ago. If he recollected right he proposed that which was about to be revived by Lord Russell, that the revenues from that quarter should be divided into three portions, and given proportionately amongst the Presbyterians, the Irish Establishment, and the Roman Catholic Churches. When they took that into account, after the appropriation clause, it was, no doubt, a great advance to be made by the Whig mind. But was it enough? (A voice: "No.") In the first place there was this objection. The Roman Catholic clergy had their orders from the Pope himself absolutely to refuse to take any part of that unclean thing. (Hear, hear.) That had been sanctioned over and over again at meetings of the Roman Catholics, and it appeared to him that they would not touch anything of the sort, but would be satisfied rather with what they were doing in the way of supporting their flocks by voluntary contributions. He moved the following resolution:—

That the appointment by her Majesty's Government of a Commission of Inquiry into the nature and amount of the property and revenues of the Established Church in Ireland indicates the near approach of the period when Parliament will feel itself compelled to deal with the question; this meeting desires, therefore, to record its conviction that the establishment of the English Church in Ireland is a political injustice, and a fruitful source of national disaffection; and that the State ought to resume its endowments of that Church and appropriate them to national and unsectarian purposes, regard being had, however, to existing life interests.

The Rev. J. C. STREET, in seconding the resolution, said that since the announcement of that meeting had been made, he had received on all hands friendly hints from a large number of gentlemen that it would be better to take part in no meeting which had anything to do with Irish questions until those Irish cowards had been dealt with by the strong arm of the law. (Cheers.) But although he felt as deeply and strongly as any man could a detestation and abhorrence of such acts as those which had been perpetrated in London, he yet felt that because others had done wrong, it did not follow that he was to stand silent and neglect to do right. He therefore did not think their meeting was ill-timed and uncalled-for, but, on the contrary, that they could now speak with more emphasis and point than they could have done a few weeks ago. The picture which Ireland had for generations presented was a most painful and melancholy one. It would be a long story to tell of Ireland's many grievances, and he would confine themselves to one which all would recognise—the grievance of an Established Church of the minority in the midst of a hostile and opposed population. After referring to the various indications that the question was becoming one of the most pressing of the day, he asked where would the Irish Church be if the 30,000 soldiers stationed in that country were removed. He thought the time had come when the State should resume its endowments, and among those who had spoken upon the subject none had suggested more radical measures than Mr. Disraeli. (Applause.) If Mr. Disraeli would only do for the Irish Church question what he had done for the

representation of the English people—if he would only educate his party upon this subject as he said he had had to educate them upon the reform question—he would shed a glory round his name which future ages would recognise as belonging to him alone.

Mr. T. EUSTACE SMITH, of Gosforth, proposed the next resolution, which was as follows:—

That it is the opinion of this meeting that the proposal to mitigate existing evils by the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, and of other religious bodies in Ireland, is uncalled for, inadequate, and mischievous.

He said that when he remembered what a small amount of interest the question of the Irish Church would have excited ten years ago in this town, and when he looked at the meeting then assembled, he could not but feel that it was a sign of that increased interest of the people in political affairs, and of that full idea of the vital importance of such questions which those who supported the reform question looked forward to as among the greatest advantages to be derived from the extension of political privileges amongst them. (Applause.) He thought it unfortunate that leaders of the Liberal party had entered upon that doubtful and difficult subject, the disposal of the revenues of the Irish Church.

If, instead of doing that, they had devoted themselves to calling forth the opinion of the people, all of them would have been united; but the principle of action appeared to be that of dividing the booty before the battle was won. That this principle of division among the different denominations was uncalled for, was evident from the fact that the only ground upon which such an application of the Irish Church funds could be justified would be the great body of Irish Catholics demanding such an application of the revenues. But that body had—by its leaders, both ecclesiastical and lay—distinctly repudiated the slightest desire to possess itself of the revenues of the Establishment in Ireland, and therefore why Earl Russell should wish to force on other denominations in Ireland the revenues which they had no desire to enjoy was to him (Mr. Smith) an enigma. Especially was it incomprehensible when they knew that in their hearts the people of England believed that those revenues could be better employed. Therefore to make such a proposition at the present time when they had not got rid of the Irish Church, and when it was evident that it would require all the efforts of the Liberal party to get rid of it—to spend their efforts in propositions as to what they were to do with the money when they got it was unwise and decidedly uncalled for. (Cheers.) But such a proposition, even if it were not uncalled for, would be quite inadequate to meet the difficulties of the case. Great as was the abuse of the Irish Church—monstrous as was the injustice that there should be established in that country and privileged by law an ecclesiastical body with a revenue of something like 700,000*l.*, while it did not number so many members—monstrous and insulting to the people of Ireland as that was, yet that was not the injustice which the people felt. However much they felt the iniquity of the money having been taken from their pockets, yet, with that disregard for pecuniary considerations which is sometimes one of the noblest and sometimes one of the most unfortunate characteristics of the Irish character—it was not the money question which they felt. The grievance was that there had been established among them by the hand of the law a Church of 600,000 people, whose tenets they repudiated and opposed, while the great body of the people were of a religion not recognised by the State. The great body of the people were of a religion which was compelled to be subordinate to a Church alien in its sympathies and in its origin. (Applause.) He would be told, perhaps, that this was a sentimental grievance, but he had yet to learn that sentimental grievances were less keenly felt or required a less sweeping remedy than those of a more material character. But the proposition for the endowment of the other denominations in Ireland would be seen to be mischievous, if they looked around and noted what noble efforts had been made in Ireland without the Establishment, and in England both within and without it. If they remembered the heart-burnings that the Church-rate and other cognate questions called up in this country, they would all feel that to bestow upon any body an endowment which it was not desirous to possess would be to do it an injury instead of conferring a benefit upon it. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. H. RUTHERFORD, in seconding the resolution, confessed he had not the greatest confidence in the present House of Commons settling the matter in any broad and religious sense. The Tory party he had no faith in at all for the settlement of the Irish Church question—(loud cheers)—and he feared it would prove even too much for Mr. Disraeli's educational process. The Whigs, he was sorry to say, had very little of his confidence either, and he regretted exceedingly that Earl Russell in his place in the House of Lords should throw out a feeler to learn whether the country would not accept the endowment of all religious sects in Ireland as the solution of the much vexed point at issue. (Hear.) The present meeting was but the first of many which would be held throughout the length and breadth of the land to answer Earl Russell's query, and to say to him, and the leaders of all political parties, that they cannot be satisfied with the endowment of all sects, and that the people of England demand, as justice for Ireland, the impartial and complete disendowment of all. (Cheers.) There were weak people who said "Deal with Fenianism first, and then do justice to Ireland"—("First put down the Church")—but courage, no less than honour, demanded that they should do justice to Ireland, and that in itself would put down Fenianism. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. J. W. O'NEIL, amid considerable interruption, claimed that the revenues of the Irish Establishment were the property of the Catholic Church, and they must seek out the right owners. (Dissent.) Mr. Street and Mr. Rutherford had endeavoured to make the Irish Church question the cause of the Fenian disturbances. ("No, no," "Sit down," and cries of "stick to the question.") He would tell them what Fenianism was. (Great uproar, amid which cries of "Order" were mingled with others for liberty of speech.) Fenianism meant—"Let's have dear Ireland for the Irish, let's have Irish rulers on Irish soil." It means also "separation." ("Question," and hisses.) It was undoubtedly the question that he was endeavouring to explain, and argued that the Irish people would rather have bad laws from Irishmen than good laws from Englishmen. (Hisses, groans, and cheers.)

The Rev. H. T. ROBJOHNS, replying to Mr. O'Neil's inquiry, how the money was originally contributed, said that the money was derivable from the tithes of Ireland and of England, and not from any private benevolence whatever. All great constitutional lawyers—either Whig, Tory, or Radical—said the tithes were the results of public law, and that public law would assuredly deal with them. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. Alderman COWEN, M.P., who was received with much enthusiasm, said he heartily endorsed the resolutions passed, and was glad to see the movement that was going on this country, from one end of it to the other, in respect to the Irish Church.

I have long had very decided views on this subject. I made a journey through Ireland some years ago, and I then learned and saw much both of the country and of the people. The injustice of the ecclesiastical establishment was brought before my attention, and I could not but be impressed with the nature and extent of that injustice. Though the majority of the people in this country are Protestant, I would still deal with Ireland—the people being Roman Catholic—as I would have Ireland deal with us if the circumstances and conditions were reversed. (Hear, hear, and applause.) We are essentially Protestant, I repeat, and I am quite sure that the people of this country would never suffer a minority of Catholics to enforce upon us the religion they professed. (Applause.) Can we, therefore, reasonably expect that the Catholics of Ireland will submit—("They have submitted a long time")—but will they continue to submit much longer to the forcing upon them of a creed professed but by a very small minority? (No, no.) Much has been said about the revenues of the Irish Church, and what is to be done with them. Well, that would be a question for Parliament and for the country to decide; but this much I would say on this point, that the whole of the revenues should be applied to unsectarian and national purposes. (Great applause.) I should object to an endowment of the Catholics, and I am glad to see that the Catholic clergy themselves have declared that they will not accept any of the revenues. (Hear, hear.) I think that is a great step in advance at a time when we are talking about settling this question. (Hear, hear.) Much has been said, and no doubt much will be said on this matter. It has been stated by the preceding speakers that the time has arrived when Parliament must deal with this question, and it is certainly one which ought to be considered and dealt with without hesitation; and I have no doubt that whether the present Parliament does or does not take it up, the next will undoubtedly bring about a settlement. (Applause.) All religions in Ireland should be put upon the same footing, and whilst the endowment of the Established Church is done away with, all payments to Catholic or Presbyterian or other body of Dissenters should likewise cease. (Applause.)

On the motion of Mr. E. S. HILLS the following petition was adopted:—

To the Right Hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The humble petition of the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in town's meeting assembled,

Sheweth that the establishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland is a great political injustice; a fruitful source of national disaffection; the occasion of disturbance to social order; and opposed to the best interests of the Irish people.

That the proposal to mitigate the existing evils by the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy and of other religious bodies in Ireland is uncalled for, inadequate, and mischievous.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your Right Hon. House to consider and devise the best means for the State resuming its endowments of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and (regard being had to existing life interests) to appropriate them to national and unsectarian purposes.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

HENRY ANGUS, Chairman.

A hearty vote of thanks was given to the Mayor, and the proceedings closed with three cheers for Mr. Cowen.

The Roman Catholic Lay Declaration, in favour of "Religious Equality" in Ireland, continues to receive immense accessions of signatures from classes of men holding influential positions in society.

The Irish Church Commissioners have selected the North of Ireland as the portion of the country to which their inquiries shall be first directed.

The various Presbyteries of the United Presbyterian Church are beginning to discuss the Irish Church question. Several of them, including that of Edinburgh, have already, passed strong resolutions on the subject. At the Kirkcaldy Presbytery, for example, the Rev. Mr. Hyslop, of Leven, proposed a motion to the effect that the existing Establishment of Episcopacy in Ireland is unscriptural and unjust, and grievously offensive to the great majority of the population—that its disendowment would remove one of the greatest causes of discontent among the people—the distribution of the revenues of the existing Establishment, either equally or proportionally among Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, or the endowment of the new Government grants upon the latter two bodies, would only multiply and aggravate the evils complained of, and would increase and perpetuate the immoralities involved in indiscriminate endowment of truth and error, and that the only just and satisfactory course of procedure would be to withdraw altogether the State support, which at present is given to the churches in Ireland, and to apply the funds which would thus be derivable to other purposes, secular or national.

One of the principal speakers who condemned the Irish Establishment at the meeting of the Edinburgh United Presbytery was the Rev. Dr. PEDDIE, who also spoke strongly against the *Regium Donum*. Thereupon the Rev. Dr. Porter, one of the professors of the Irish Presbyterian Church in their college at Belfast, who is a son-in-law of Dr. Cooke, and was present with his venerable relative at the Protestant demonstration at Hillsborough, has written a very severe letter, in which he says that the United Presbyterians "never allow an opportunity to pass without wounding the feelings or assailing the principles of those who happen to differ with them on matters of ecclesiastical polity." They are also the parties who attack the *Regium Donum*, and excite others to do the same work in London and in Parliament. Their attacks are even worse than those of the Papists. So strongly does he feel, as regards the United Presbyterians, that he lets the world know, through the columns of the Belfast newspapers, that he has made up his mind what he will do. "I have," he says, "said elsewhere that I can have no union with High-Church Ritualists or with Broad-Church sceptics; and now I say in addition that I can have no union with Voluntary calumniators." With respect to the *Regium Donum* itself, the learned professor announces that he will retain hold of it as long as he is unfettered by the State, and protest at the same time against the endowment of Popery. The proposal to secularise the revenues of the Irish Church he characterises as "plunder." Dr. Peddie, in reply, adheres to all he had originally stated as to the duty of Christian men and churches in the present grave aspect of affairs, and refers to the speech of Dr. Buchanan at the recent meeting of the Free Church Commission on the Irish Church and *Regium Donum* questions, observing that Dr. Porter's Free Church friends had deserted him in his hour of need.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

YOUNG MEN'S CONFERENCE AT BRISTOL.

Last Thursday night another young men's conference was held; it being the first yet held in the West of England. It took place in the hall of the Bristol Athenæum; and, though on this occasion the attraction of tea was wanting, there was a large attendance of young men. Most of the local leaders of the Society were present; but the Rev. Messrs. Dickie and James, and Mr. H. O. Wills, were obliged to content themselves with writing letters expressive of sympathy with the object of the meeting. The Society's secretary, Mr. Carvell Williams, accompanied by the Rev. Llewellyn Bevan, of London, was present to represent the Society.

The CHAIRMAN, Mr. T. Waterman, in opening the proceedings, said that the Bristol committee thought it would be most practically useful to substitute for the usual annual meeting a meeting of young men, and referred to the reasons why it was desirable that they should interest themselves in the Society's work at the present time.

The Rev. L. D. BEVAN was the first speaker, and in an address characterised, by much perspicuity and point, he described the principles which lay at the basis of the liberation movement. He admitted that Dissenters, as well as Episcopalians, needed to be instructed in those principles, and in their application to the circumstances of the present times, and especially insisted that young men—to whom he addressed a stirring appeal—should be prepared for the conflict on which they were entering.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS said that, after the admirable exposition of principles to which the conference had just listened, he should confine himself to the practical means by which young men could promote the liberation movement, and he then proceeded to offer some practical suggestions for the training of youthful voluntaries for the work which awaited them.

After two of the students of the Baptist College had proposed a resolution—in excellent speeches—and some other speeches had been delivered,

Mr. JEFFERIES—who said he did not agree with the object of the conference—called attention to a fact which he thought should moderate the exultation of voluntaries, who appeared to think that their principles had been accepted by the public, and that success was only a question of time. Modern Nonconformists had insisted that it was the duty of governments to confine their attention to matters affecting the lives and property of the people, and not to mould the mind of the community. Lately, however, some of the leading voluntaries had avowed a change of opinion in regard to the question of education, and were now willing that it should be imparted by the State. Apart from other considerations, the Establishment was entitled to respect for the great share it had taken in the work of popular education. He also thought that, deeply attached as Churchmen were to the Establishment, their feelings were entitled to some consideration; while he urged that the question should be discussed with forbearance, courtesy, and moderation.

Mr. COSSHAM, in reply, denied that those to whom the last speaker had alluded had changed their opinions, though they were willing to adapt their course to circumstances. As to popular education, he was content to refer to the fact that in England, where there was an Establishment, thirty-three per cent. of the people were uneducated, while in

America, which had none, the whole people were educated.

Mr. E. S. ROBINSON contended that the State-Church question and the education question were dissimilar. He, however, quite agreed with Mr. Jefferies in regard to the spirit in which the controversy should be carried on, and thought that Mr. Jefferies himself had set a good example. He hoped the young men present would adopt the excellent advice which had been given them by Mr. Williams and others.

After the motion had been carried, a second was proposed by Mr. Norris, who referred with much feeling to the proceedings in which the Society originated, and in which his deceased father had taken a leading part.

The Rev. DAVID THOMAS said that it was not the fact that opposition to establishments was always based on the abstract principle referred to by Mr. Jefferies. It was, indeed, very difficult exactly to define the province of Government, and he was content to base his opposition to establishments on the fact that they always proved to be the source of great evils. He insisted on the necessity for an intelligent study of the question, and for the cultivation of a spirit of charity in connection with it.

The Rev. E. J. HARTLAND seconded the vote of thanks to the chair, proposed by Mr. Thomas, and this closed the proceedings, which were kept up with unabated interest till half-past ten o'clock.

DENOMINATIONALISM IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

There is no State Church in South Australia, yet it was announced that, in the procession on the arrival of Prince Alfred at Adelaide, precedence was to be given to the bishop and archdeacon of the Episcopalian denomination. The following remonstrance was drawn up and presented, and the matter was discussed in Parliament the next day. Whatever may be done religious equality will be put upon a sure basis in this province for all future time by this agitation. A similar petition to the one annexed has been presented to the House of Assembly by Mr. A. Hay, M.P.

To the Honourable the Legislative Council of the Province of South Australia, in Parliament assembled—

The memorial of the undersigned ministers of various churches and denominations in the province of South Australia sheweth—

That your memorialists have observed with regret that in the table of precedency relating to the public procession on the occasion of the arrival of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh, as such table appears in the South Australian *Government Gazette*, exclusive positions are assigned to the ministers of one particular Church.

That in the opinion of your memorialists the distinction thus made in favour of one religious body on an occasion of national interest and importance is neither right nor seemly, but is a flagrant violation of the principles of religious equality recognised by the Legislature and people of this province.

That your memorialists learn with satisfaction from the *Gazette* aforementioned that the Imperial regulations relating to precedency on such occasions are not designed to apply strictly and in their integrity to every British colony; but that the Governor of any colony may alter or modify those regulations, "having regard," in so doing, "to the social condition of the colony under his government." Your memorialists respectfully submit that a proper regard to the social condition and circumstances of this colony, where no State Church exists, requires that no precedence or exclusive rights should be granted to the ministers of any particular religious denomination.

That your memorialists, in thus addressing your honourable Council, are not actuated by a spirit of opposition to any Church, or to the ministers of any Church, nor do they seek for themselves any public recognition, but are simply desirous that, in so far as the action of the State is concerned, all Christian Churches in the province should be regarded and treated as on a footing of equality.

Your memorialists, therefore, pray your honourable Council to give to this matter the consideration which it deserves, and to adopt such measures as to your honourable Council may seem best for the effectual removal and prevention of what in this land must be felt to be an anomaly and a grievance—the granting by the State of precedence or exclusive rights to any particular Church, or to its representatives.

GEORGE STONEHOUSE, Baptist.
C. W. EVAN, Congregationalist.
SILAS MEAD, Congregationalist.
JAMES MAUGHAN, Methodist New Connexion.
J. C. WOODS, B.A., Unitarian.
JOHN HANNAY, Baptist.
JOHN WATSFORD, Wesleyan.
F. W. COX, Congregationalist.
JOHN GARDNER, Presbyterian.
JAMES LYALL, Presbyterian.
JAMES RODDICH, Presbyterian.
J. G. MILLARD, Wesleyan.

THE EDUCATION QUESTION IN IRELAND.—The Dublin correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* mentions, as a probable rumour, that the Government has substantially agreed to a scheme for founding a central Irish University, to which Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges, and the Catholic University will be affiliated. Trinity College will, as belonging to the Episcopalians, retain intact its vast revenues, and the Catholic College will be aided by an endowment from the national exchequer. This important statement requires confirmation. On Wednesday a meeting of the Roman Catholic clergy of the diocese of Dublin was held under the presidency of Dr. Cullen, at which resolutions were passed demanding educational equality with Protestants, denouncing the mixed education system of the Queen's colleges, and claiming Government aid to Roman Catholic educational institutions.

THE HON. AND VEN. ARCHDEACON HARRIS, brother of the present Earl of Malmesbury, is to succeed to the vacant See of Gibraltar.

MARTIN *v.* MACKONOCHIE.—The Dean of the Arches has appointed Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the 9th, 10th, and 11th January, and Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the 13th, 14th, and 15th January, for the further hearing of the St. Alban's cause.

THE NEW BISHOP OF NATAL.—The Bishop of London, in a letter to a contemporary, observes:—"My own opinion remains the same—that it is not the duty of the diocese of Natal to proceed to elect, nor of the metropolitan and his co-provincials to consecrate, a new bishop till Bishop Colenso has been lawfully deposed, which I believe he has not yet been."

AN ATHEIST IN THE WITNESS-BOX.—Mr. Bradlaugh ("Iconoclast") was tendered as a witness in one of the courts on Tuesday in an action upon a foreign bill of exchange in which he was plaintiff, and was objected to by the other side as an atheist, and so incompetent to be sworn. Mr. Keane, Q.C., who made the objection, said he did it with great pain, but his client had left him no option. Mr. Justice Smith said he would take upon himself, if the objection were pressed, to allow Mr. Bradlaugh to make affirmation. The difficulty was got over by the admission on the part of the defendant of the facts which Mr. Bradlaugh's evidence was to have proved.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS AT THE CAPE AND NATAL.—At the annual meeting of the Church Defence Association, in connection with the Dutch Reformed Church, resolutions were passed condemning the adjournment policy of the Synod, alleging that the Privy Council had made a mistake, and advocating the right of private judgment, and free, fearless, and unfettered inquiry. The Colenso dispute was continued, and rival congregations were being established by church-members. The actions for the ejection of Dean Green and the Rev. J. Waltham from the ecclesiastical buildings they use as belonging to the Church of England had come off, but judgment was not expected to be given before the end of November. The Rev. Mr. Crompton has forwarded to the Colonial Secretary a voluminous dispatch referring to his cancelled commission as justice of the peace for his interference in the Colenso dispute.

PROSECUTION OF THE REV. C. VOYSEY.—Arrangements are being made for a prosecution in the Ecclesiastical Courts of another clergyman of the Church of England—this time a gentleman who holds what are called Broad Church views, and who adopts many of the theories advocated by Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal. The clergyman against whom the prosecution is about being commenced is the Rev. Charles Voysey, M.A., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, rector of Healaugh, in the archdiocese of York. The prosecution is to be undertaken by the English Church Union, of which the Hon. Colin Lindsay is the president, the body which is conducting the defence of Mr. Mackonochie in the well-known St. Alban's case now before the Arches Court. Mr. Voysey was for some years an active London clergyman, having been curate of St. Mark's, Victoria Docks, known in connection with "Londoners over the Border."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S LIVINGS.—Four years have now elapsed since the Act for the augmentation of benefices in the gift of the Lord Chancellor came into operation. In that period eighty-three of the poorer advowsons have been sold, and ten of the livings of a clear yearly value of 200*l.* or more. Among the present year's sales of the former class is the advowson of West Newton, Norfolk, purchased by the Prince of Wales for 1,200*l.* The total amount of the purchase-money of the advowsons sold is 174,609*l.*, including 5,450*l.* secured by rent-charges on land. The amount received from sales of the higher class of livings under the 23rd and 24th sections of the Act has enabled the Lord Chancellor to apply 20,900*l.* in augmentation of other livings and grants for parsonage-houses, and to appropriate a further sum of 9,800*l.* for the like purpose under a scheme of last May to meet benefactions provided from other sources.

CLOSING PUBLIC-HOUSES ON SUNDAY.—Mr. J. A. Smith has again laid before the House of Commons a bill upon this subject, but differing to some extent from the bill which he brought in last session. The present bill would enact that as respects the sale of fermented and distilled liquors for consumption off the premises, the existing restrictions shall be extended to the hours 2.30 p.m. and 8 p.m., and that 10 p.m. shall be the hour for closing. As respects the sale of liquors for consumption on the premises, the existing restrictions are to extend to the whole of the day, subject to the following proviso, which is new:—that the Act shall not preclude a person licensed to sell any fermented or distilled liquor to be consumed on the premises within the metropolitan police district from selling the same to a person lodging in his house, or to travellers, or to persons *bona fide* taking a meal at his house during the time of such meal. This proviso comes in the place of one in the former bill now omitted, and which would have enacted that nothing in the Act should prevent any person carrying on the business of an eating-house-keeper, or otherwise selling (as part of his daily business) meat, confectionery, or other victuals to be consumed on the premises, from selling, as he might if the bill had not passed, any fermented or distilled liquors for consumption on the premises by persons who *bona fide* have purchased any such meat, confectionery, or other victuals.

RELIGIOUS TESTS AT OXFORD.—In a congregation held on Saturday the house approved of the changes proposed, viz., that instead of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles and to the three articles of the thirty-sixth canon of 1603, persons admitted to the degrees of M.A., B.D., D.C.L., and D.M., shall make and subscribe a declaration of assent taken from the thirty-sixth canon of 1865, and from the Clerical Subscription Act of the same year, the last clause of the declaration as contained in the canon and in the Act being omitted because it applies only to the clergy; and also that the Articles shall no longer be read in the presence of the dean or other person presenting to any of those degrees. The declaration is as follows:—"I, A B, do solemnly make the following declaration. I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, and I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the word of God."

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND THE LAW OF PATRONAGE.—The agitation for the modification of the law of patronage in the Established Church of Scotland is becoming general. It has, in fact, all the appearance of a concerted plan. The movement in the Edinburgh Presbytery has been quickly followed by notices of motions in other Presbyteries. In that of Glasgow, the Rev. Mr. Charteris, the minister of the most influential Established congregation in the western metropolis, has intimated at the next monthly meeting he will move a resolution, calling upon the General Assembly "to substitute for the present law of patronage a system of election by representatives of congregations." At Greenock and Dundee Presbyteries similar notices have been given. It is quite evident, remarks the *Weekly Review*, that the passing of the new Reform Bill has a good deal to do with this movement. The conviction is on the increase that something must be done to give scope to the popular element in the settlement of ministers, otherwise the existence of the Church in its State connection will be imperilled.

THE SCHISM IN THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—Dr. Begg and his friends in the Free Church of Scotland have at length openly taken the field against the union movement, having just published a manifesto, consisting of forty pages, in which they boldly declare that they have made up their minds to incur the responsibility of arresting it. It is impossible for any one to peruse the pamphlet without seeing that, should the present movement be carried out, the courts of law will be appealed to, for they declare that they have rights which no majority, however large or powerful, can deprive them of, and these, they assure us, they are determined to maintain. In fact, it will, according to present appearances, be the Cardross case over again, but upon a much larger scale. It would be a strange spectacle to find Dr. Begg and those few Disruption ministers who sympathise with him invoking the aid of those civil courts, resort to which by others has been condemned by them in the most unmeasured terms. What the leaders of the union movement in the Free Church may say to this manifesto we do not know, but the probability is that they will give up all hopes of anything like immediate union in Scotland, and so avert the unseemly contest threatened. The controversy has now assumed a decidedly bitter aspect; and, to the honour of the United Presbyterians, it must be stated that they as a body have dealt with this whole union question with a Christian temper and charity to which the Free Church cannot always aspire.—*Christian World.*

OPENING OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE ON SUNDAY.—At the annual meeting of the proprietors of the Crystal Palace Company, Mr. Thomas Hughes, M.P., in the chair, the question of Sunday admissions came on after the despatch of the ordinary business. Mr. G. F. Chambers brought forward the following motion, of which he had given notice:—

That this meeting consider the opening of the Crystal Palace to the public on Sundays is contrary to the law of God, is a violation of the company's charter, and is prejudicial to the pecuniary prosperity of the company; and it requests the directors not to allow any more Sunday openings to take place.

Sir Charles D. Fox seconded the proposition. Mr. Baxter Langley moved an amendment condemning the policy of excluding the shareholders from their property on Sunday, and urging the directors to ask for a repeal of the obnoxious clause which prevented the opening of the Palace gardens on Sunday afternoons. Mrs. Harriet Laws, amid much applause, seconded the amendment in the interest of the lady portion of the metropolis. She wished to know from Sir Charles Fox what special revelation he had had that he should consider himself entitled to declare that opening the Crystal Palace on Sunday afternoons was contrary to the law of God. In dealing with the question, they should recollect that there was such a body of persons in the metropolis as the working class. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) She was speaking to a working man the other day who had been all his life in London, and she was surprised to hear from him that he had never seen the Crystal Palace. He told her that the reason he had never had an opportunity of visiting the Crystal Palace was that he was at work all the week, and that even his Sunday was occupied in ringing the

bell of the church he attended. She should like to know from Sir Charles Fox was this bell-ringing on Sunday also opposed to the will of God. (Laughter and applause.) The amendment was, after some discussion, carried by a large majority, the recorded numbers being 123 for and 32 against. Mr. W. Mence complained of the partial way in which the free Sunday tickets had heretofore been distributed, through the agency of the Sunday League, and moved the following resolution:—

That it is hereby requested that the directors will for the future kindly grant free admissions on the first Sundays in July and August in each year, and that such tickets be distributed direct from the offices of the Crystal Palace to shareholders only for the use of their friends.

Mr. Beeton seconded the proposition. Mr. Liddier moved an amendment to the effect that no free admissions to the Palace be granted in future to non-shareholders. After a long and very boisterous discussion, the amendment was put to the meeting, and there appearing 60 hands for, and 76 against, it was declared to be lost. Mr. Mence's proposition was also declared to be lost, the numbers being 44 for and 66 against. The announcement of the defeat of Mr. Mence's motion was received with cheers. The chairman intimated that a properly drawn up demand for a poll had been presented to him from Mr. Liddier respecting the admission to the Palace of non-shareholders. It was arranged that the poll would be taken on the 31st December, at the Crystal Palace.

Religious Intelligence.

THE WEEK OF PRAYER.—The Evangelical Alliance, by its British and Foreign organizations, renews its invitation to observe the week ending Jan. 5—12 of the ensuing year as a season of special prayer.

PRESENTATIONS.—The Rev. Geo. Slater has been presented with a handsome tea and coffee-service, on relinquishing, owing to ill-health, the position of assistant minister of the Lozells Chapel, Birmingham. The Rev. J. W. Johnstone, M.A., has received a gift of books from friends near Newry, as a token of gratitude for preaching the gospel amongst them for two years and a-half.

OXFORD.—We lately announced that George-street Chapel, Oxford (Rev. D. Martin), had been re-opened, after entire renovation and repairs. The re-opening services yielded about 56*l*. Other improvements are contemplated, including a new day and Sunday-school, for which a freehold site has been purchased. The need of a good day-school on liberal principles has long been felt. The entire cost is estimated at 1,880*l*., towards which the congregation, neither numerous nor wealthy, has raised 770*l*., leaving 1,110*l*. to be provided, part of which they hope will be subscribed by friends outside themselves.

WELLS, SOMERSETSHIRE.—The third anniversary of the reopening of the Congregational Chapel was held on the 11th inst. In the morning there was a conference of the neighbouring ministers for devotion, and for the consideration of some practical matters affecting the healthy working of our churches. In the afternoon there was a special devotional service in the chapel, which was full of interest. This was followed by a public tea-meeting, which was very well attended. In the evening, the Rev. David Thomas, of Bristol, preached to the fullest congregation which has been seen within the chapel since it has been reopened. The sermon was most pointed and searching. Mr. H. O. Wills, of Bristol, was expected to have presided at the afternoon service, but was prevented by indisposition.

IRISH EVANGELICAL SOCIETY.—During the last fortnight a series of meetings have been held in several of the metropolitan and suburban chapels, on behalf of this society. The committee had invited the Rev. John White, pastor of the first Congregational Church, Belfast, to aid them in this endeavour to awaken and increase the sympathy of Congregationalists towards their difficult but important work in the sister island. Mr. White having kindly acceded to their request, on Tuesday evening, the 10th inst. and Wednesday evening, the 11th inst., meetings were held in Tölmer-square Chapel, and the Adelphi Chapel, Hackney, at both of which, the Treasurer, Charles Reed, Esq., F.S.A., presided. On Thursday and Friday evenings, the 12th and 13th, similar meetings were convened at Peckham, and Camberwell Green, on which occasions, R. A. Boyd, Esq., presided. On Sunday morning, the 15th inst. the Rev. J. White preached at Tottenham and Edmonton Chapel. In the evening, a large congregation assembled at the Rev. Edward White's chapel, Hawley-road, it having been announced that addresses would be delivered on Irish Missions by Charles Reed, Esq., the Rev. John White, and Rev. William Tarbotton, the secretary. On Tuesday evening, the 17th inst., the series closed with a meeting at Forest Hill Church, the Rev. T. C. Hine, of Sydenham in the chair. On all these occasions Dr. White imparted information of the most interesting character, concerning the work of God in Ireland—its need, its difficulties, its successes,—and bore ample testimony to the self-denying zeal and great usefulness of the agents of the society. As an independent witness, he distinctly affirmed that, to the existence and operations of the Irish Evangelical Society are to be attributed, under God, very largely, the spiritual life and sympathy with voluntaryism, now extant among the different evangelical denominations in Ireland. The various meetings were also addressed most earnestly by the Revs. H. Simon, A. A. Ramsey, J. Wood, R. W. Betts, J. D. K. Williams, J. Pillans, T. Doxsey, Arthur Hall, Edward White, M.A., E. Johnson, B.A., and the secretary, Rev. William Tarbotton. It is believed that by these services an impulse has been given to the cause of the Irish Evangelical Society which will lead to most beneficial issues. The committee feel that the present distractions connected with Irish affairs constitute an appeal more powerful than ever on behalf of the diffusion of the pure and peaceful Gospel throughout the length and breadth of Ireland.

Correspondence.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Your valuable paper has of late contained a correspondence concerning the office, calling, and ordination of pastors; the office of deacon; and the exercise of spiritual functions in the part of the laity. Allow me to contribute to this correspondence a few observations relative to the laying on of hands of which we read in the New Testament,—a subject which seems to be very generally and grievously misunderstood, and which has an important bearing on the various points discussed by your correspondents.

The sacred writers speak of two kinds of imposition of hands. One of them is mentioned Heb. vi. 2, where the reference is to one of the ceremonies of the Levitical Law. He who offered a sacrifice laid his hands on the head of the victim, as a sign that the guilt of his own trespass was transferred to that victim; and in the *doctrine* of "laying on of hands" is clearly apprehended by those who understand as well as sing that familiar verse—

> My faith would lay her hand
> On that dear dear head of Thine;
> While like a penitent I stand,
> And there confess my sin.

The other kind of imposition of hands was that received by Timothy, the seven men we read of in Acts vi., and others. It seems to be assumed that because Timothy had hands laid on him, and was accustomed to lay his hands on those appointed by him to office in the church, our modern pastors are to receive an imposition of hands at their "ordination"; and that because the Apostles laid their hands on the seven, deacons in our days should receive a similar imposition. There are, however, two considerations which make it clear to me that the laying on of hands in our day is vain, as I believe it to be a mischievous thing.

1. The imposition of hands, of which we read in the New Testament, was always performed by men of apostolic authority. I do not forget what is said in 1 Tim. iv. 14, but that passage ought to be connected, for the purposes of this argument, with 2 Tim. i. 6. Whatever may have been the constitution of the Presbytery mentioned in the former passage, it appears to have included an Apostle; and of course the imposition of his hands was the important part of the ceremony to which allusion is made in both epistles.

It may be said, however, that Timothy, who was not an Apostle, performed as well as received the imposition of hands. But, though not an Apostle, Timothy was an Evangelist, and as such exercised Apostolic authority. This official title, like others adopted in the early church, had a technical signification. We read in one place (Eph. iv. 11), of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers; and elsewhere, of bishops, elders and deacons. Now, as an apostle was not merely a missionary, and as a deacon was not merely a servant, so also an evangelist was not merely a preacher of the Gospel. An apostle had a peculiar mission, a deacon rendered a peculiar service, and an evangelist preached the Gospel with a peculiar authority, viz., the delegated authority of an apostle. As there are (speaking technically) no apostles, so there are no evangelists, now upon earth. Pastors, or bishops, or elders, or teachers and deacons remain; but apostles, prophets and evangelists are gone. We read of three evangelists in the New Testament, viz., Philip (who does not appear, however, to have borne this office when preaching in Samaria), of whom, as an evangelist, we know nothing; Titus, who we know was an evangelist from the similarity of the instructions addressed to him and Timothy by the Apostle Paul; and Timothy, who was left by Paul as his deputy at Ephesus with authority over the churches in that district—authority so great that he ruled and appointed the officers of those churches.

2. This imposition of hands, whether by apostles or evangelists—and no others can be shown to have resorted to the practice—was always accompanied by the exercise of spiritual power. Those who received it received also the Holy Ghost, *i.e.*, were endowed with the miraculous gifts of the Spirit. When, therefore, we find modern bishops, Anglican or Congregational, laying their hands on a brother minister at his so-called ordination, and fail to find any indication that special fitness for his work is thereby imparted, we have reason to regard their conduct as vain, unscriptural, and therefore mischievous.

I remain, Sir, yours very respectfully,

SAMUEL C. BURN.

P.S. James v. 14 does not relate to *ordination*, and as I have been writing of the laying on of hands in connection with ordination, that passage does not militate against the theory advanced.

Canton, Cardiff, Dec. 12, 1867.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—An old friend of mine, a theological professor of liberal views, used to say that the only Scriptural part of Nonconformist ordination services was the imposition of hands, and that the charge and the usual questions, &c., &c., were quite unauthorised. How would it meet the views of some of your correspondents if we were to try ordination after the pattern of the early church? And as it seems that *the church* elected the "seven servers of tables," and they were ordained with the laying on of hands, we might then ordain our deacons as well as our ministers after the Apostolic mode. For as our deacons are elected by the church as these "servers of tables" were (see Mr. Callaway's letter), they stand in this respect on the same footing.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

DISCIPULUS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Correct data are essential to just reasoning. Mr. Callaway says the Apostles asked a *church* to elect an Apostle. According to the Acts it appears that the original Apostolic company was never called a "church" until it had been reinforced, and more or less organised. Compare the striking variation of language:—"And the same day were *added (unto them)* about three thousand souls" (Acts ii. 41); and "The Lord added to *the church* daily such as should be saved" (Acts ii. 47). And, then, is the choice of one of two men by lot (*i.e.*, by a direct appeal to the Lord for His choice), a choice by the church, in the sense commonly understood? Or is the appointment by Apostles ("whom we may appoint," Acts vi. 3) of seven men whom they authorised the church to look out for them, an appointment by the church in the ordinary sense of these words?

I am, Sir, your servant, and the servant of

ACCURACY.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND SACERDOTALISM.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Allow me to endorse the opinion expressed in a letter which appeared in your last impression, signed "Country Pastor." Not having seen his former letter, I cannot, of course, express any opinion upon it, but I think it would be a decidedly unfair inference for "Laicus" to draw that because his arguments are unanswered, they are therefore unanswerable. At the risk of being charged with inability to produce arguments on the other side of the question, I will merely say that I wish to express a decided protest against those views of which "Plymouth Brethrenism" is the only logical conclusion. There are some who, while they view with sorrow the false position assumed by many ministers of the Established Church who have taken upon themselves to be "lords over God's heritage," yet believe that there *is* a good gift to be gained in connection with—what appears to them to be—the Divinely appointed ordinance of "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." For men who, like myself, hold these views, and yet feel unable conscientiously to receive ordination in the Church of England, the prospect of ministering in a congregation where order and a regularly constituted ministry are utterly ignored, affords but a sorry alternative.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

F. A.

Cambridge, Dec. 20, 1867.

PEW RENTS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Will you favour me with a little space for the insertion of a few thoughts on the subject of pew-rents? I am aware it is one that has been somewhat ventilated at different times, in sundry religious journals, and lately by a correspondent in your own; but I feel persuaded it is a subject involving more than is commonly supposed, and one which must come up to the surface in a somewhat irrepressible manner in time to come, demanding more attention than it has yet secured, as the system will by-and-bye be seen to stand in the way of that healthy development of our religious strength and vigour, which in the coming days will be found so necessary.

I am not aware hat the particular views here urged, or the special plan here recommended, as a substitute, have before appeared; but, be that as it may, the whole thing is assuredly not less important than some others which Nonconformists are looking into, with a view to improving the outworks of that well-defended citadel which, in past days, resisted many an assault, and which, in the impending struggle, may have to play a not unimportant part. I think it will be seen that the Free Church and some other movements outside the Congregational body, and the "voluntary offering" movement within it, go to show that the system of pew-rents is doomed. It may linger long, and die hard in some places, but die it must; and it may not in this instance be amiss to be prepared beforehand, as it were, for its decent interment. Some would doubtless say, as Mr. Lowe said of our political arrangements, "It works well, why change it?" or, again, "What other plan, as generally practicable, can be devised?" Let us first of all see *if it does work well*. It will be of little avail, for general application, to point to certain prosperous and exceptional churches where the most popular preachers of the day minister—the state of things in such places being well understood. Nor, on the other

hand (and in order to clear the way a little), will arguments, based on financial considerations, be fully realised and appreciated by all classes alike, but, nevertheless, most will understand what those considerations amount to.

It may simplify the question to assume (what would not be questioned for one moment by any one, I think), that whatever be the arrangements in our places of worship, they should be such that, as far as possible, *every family should be fully provided with sitting room for the junior as well as the senior portions.* This being admitted, we proceed, and inquire if the present plan meets the case. What do we find? In ninety-nine chapels out of a hundred we find pews let (or *not let*, as the case may be), according to a certain scale of charges regulated upon the principle of good, better, best, with the remaining portion of the room ticketed (as was shown at the late working men's conference) "free"—a state of things admirably in harmony with the Poor-laws half a century ago, which required the parish poor to be badged with the parish initials. Now what does this graduated scale amount to, but a system of *caste* most offensive to the minds of a large class of sensitive and honourable people? Granted, it may be, as has often been said, that the poor as well as the rich will keep up certain barriers of distinction between classes. We answer, for that there cannot be a speedy remedy found; but *that* can be no reason for special arrangements being provided in God's house, where the doctrine is taught that in the sight of God all men are equal, to keep up a seemingly opposite theory.

Now, to what extent this general idea may operate in keeping outsiders outside, is matter of opinion. But advancing a step, let us inquire how the principle works in the case of those whose sympathies and principles are on the side of religion, and in connection with the *average* place of worship. Take the cases of A, B, C, D, as representing an average congregation. A is a man of abundant means, and whether he be a family man or no, he has simply to take so much accommodation, and the thing with him is done. B and C are middle-class men, or say tradesmen, both, let us suppose, with similar incomes. B is a man with no family; he requires consequently a small portion of sitting-room, and takes so much accordingly, and unless it be in rare instances, or for special occasions or objects, his contributions to the cause would be by this rule measured. C, as we have supposed, would possess similar means, but being blessed with a family, requires accommodation proportionate thereto. Now, the system says practically to such a man, "Though you are less able to afford a large subscription to the cause than your friend with no family, yet if you have your family to worship with you, you must subscribe double or treble, as the case may be." Take again the case of "D.," who would represent the poorer portion of our congregation, and what do we find? The system says precisely the same sort of thing to him; but with him, the means being of the most limited description, it of necessity acts somewhat differently, or rather perpetrates the same injustice, only in a larger degree. We are aware a man of sterling principle would put up with inconveniences, or even at its shrine would make sacrifices, whether he be rich or poor; but here, as elsewhere, we must take human nature as we find it. While it is true that the man of principle acts from principle, it is equally true that the man without it, is not influenced by it; and applying this self-evident truth to the matter in hand, we see that without an unwarrantable sacrifice on the part of the poor man with a family, he cannot worship together *with* his family. And what follows? Finding he cannot do as he would, the man in such a case either labels himself by sitting where he is "free" to sit; or he would simply take a "sitting" for himself or wife, or at most for both, leaving children quite out of the arrangement.

And let us see what *that* amounts to. Three or four courses are open; the one adopted by the juvenile branches of the family will much depend upon the influence or wisdom of the heads of such families. Strangely enough, some parents have little objection to their sons or daughters visiting the hills, or woods, or fields, or streets while the service of the sanctuary is proceeding. Others, again, are allowed to ramble to this or that place of worship, in the most irregular and unceremonious manner. Or, again, and rising to the highest point of discipline under such circumstances, others have strictly to attend the same place of worship as the parents; but not being under their own immediate eye, they too often are such as to render it necessary for Sunday-school teachers and others to transform themselves into policemen, to keep order, while the parents, with the rest of the congregation, are otherwise engaged. Supposing this to be a fair account of the state of things at present existing—and I think investigation will amply confirm what I have stated—it will at once be seen what a demoralising effect it has. The congregation, by the working of the principle, is needlessly thinned; for in many places we find empty pews and wandering youths, much of which would be prevented did not the pew-rent system block the way. We find those that should be led on to take the places of those that will by-and-bye pass away, from the same cause, if not absolutely corrupted, at least allowed to form the most irregular habits, which frequently develope into hostility to all religious associations. Now, if this representation of the case be true, or if it be such as would apply to the bulk of our places of worship, or if only to country districts, it would surely be a bold thing to say the system works well.

To what extent it has operated really adversely to the cause of religion in general, or to Nonconformity in particular, as before hinted, can only be matter of conjecture. But who can doubt that such a mode of proceeding *is in itself wrong*, if not calculated to defeat the object it was originally supposed to promote, since among the poor and those who are not poor, there is a large class who happen to possess that trait of character, in its nature truly English, which forbids them from exhibiting their poverty or measured means in the Sunday market. Yet this is what the pew-rent system demands, and sometimes in the most cruel manner. For example, the well-to-do man that shall be honest, honourable, and liberal, shall be by circumstances so reduced, that his former contributions can no longer with justice to himself and family be spared. Or again, the stay of the household shall be by death removed; the widow with her family are in straitened circumstances: How, in these cases, does the principle act? We will suppose in past days the family in each case was fully provided for in God's house on the Sabbath day; but circumstances alter cases, and bitterly so here, past days are past, and the sensitive soul feels it so. We only once more ask, Can such a system be right? or can it long survive, working as it does so unequally and unjustly, *and that in a region, above all others, where such things should be unknown?*

But it may be asked, what better plan than that of pew-rents can be devised? Now, whether the plan of *perfectly free seats*, as carried out in some few places, or that of *seat appropriation*, according to families, be the most desirable for the present day, may be matters of opinion. But certain it is that something on this kind of principle can alone fully meet the case. On the question of funds, this at first sight may appear impracticable; a little reflection, however, may convince the most doubtful that less is to be feared on that score than at first sight may be supposed. It will be readily admitted that an illiberal or unprincipled person will only be prevailed upon to subscribe to a certain extent, adopt what plan you may. If the plan in operation presses heavier than is agreeable, means will be found, with such persons, to shape matters accordingly, even if necessary, to the extent of giving up attendance at the place in question altogether; while the liberal man would be liberal still in like manner. As to the method of collecting funds in connection with the principle supposed, there is doubtless scope for different plans and opinions. We will suggest one only. Like everything called change, it would encounter some opposition from Conservative mortals; but should it be judged to work more advantageously in most respects than the present method, no barrier ought long to stand in the way of its adoption.

Let us suppose a place of worship where pew-rents are totally abolished, and every family as far as possible provided for. Then every head of family or other attendant upon public worship should be asked, "How much are you willing as in the sight of God to give toward the support of His cause, per year, half-year, quarter, month, or week? To what extent may the church depend upon your assistance and co-operation?"

In this way the rich man's gold and the poor man's mite would nicely harmonise; and, as we have supposed, the liberal man would be liberal still; the illiberal man could be but illiberal still; while we may suppose the family man, on this principle, would not in all cases subscribe according to the number of feet required for his family from Sunday to Sunday. We may also suppose the man or woman not thus blessed with a family would more than make up the difference—*their* subscriptions likewise, not being measured by the foot, as on the pew-rent principle, but according to means and station. It should not be overlooked that the principle here contended for, if intelligently and rationally worked, would have a *constant educational effect* upon people's minds, in teaching and recommending by its fairness that pure Voluntaryism we love and wish to see extend; standing out as it would do in fine contrast from that *teach-nothing* idea which the pew-rent system exhibits. With such a principle in operation, our congregations would be enlarged, our foundations widened and strengthened, a pressing evil would be removed; and the world would witness more of the spirit of Christianity; and then may we not rely upon the church's real work being far more largely accomplished than at present?

I am, my dear Sir, yours truly,
J. HAYWARD.

Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire,
December 11, 1867.

THE PRACTICE OF ADOPTION.—The inquest on the child who died a week since in the house of a man named Cooper, in the Hackney-road, who had "adopted" it for 10*l.*, was brought to a close on Thursday night. Nothing further had been ascertained about the mother of the child, but a letter was read from a lady at Tamworth, giving a description of a "wicked niece" of hers, which Mrs. Cooper said exactly described the appearance of the young lady from whom she got the baby and the 10*l.* The jury found that death arose from natural causes, and appended to their verdict an expression of opinion that the legislature should deal with the practice of "adopting" children for money.

MR. GLADSTONE ON THE TOPICS OF THE DAY.

On Wednesday Mr. Gladstone opened a new Mechanics' Institute at Wernerth, a suburb of Oldham, and was presented with an address at a public meeting in the Town Hall (the Mayor in the chair), which said among other things:—

A reformed Parliament will speedily be called upon to deal with questions pressing for solution, and vital to the interests of the State. Amongst those holding the foremost place may be enumerated education, the condition of Ireland, and national expenditure. When the time arrives for grappling with these questions, we shall look to find you in the van of those who assume as their motto, "The greatest good for the greatest number." Then we trust may again be made available in the cause of right those great powers with which Providence has endowed you—an eloquence powerful to sway a senate, an intellectual acumen penetrating as comprehensive, and a moral force not the less felt because unobtruded.

The right hon. gentleman responded in a characteristic speech. In the afternoon Mr. Gladstone assisted at the inauguration of the Institute referred to, and spoke mainly on educational topics. In the evening the right hon. gentleman attended a meeting at the Working Men's Hall, at Oldham, for the purpose of distributing the prizes to successful pupils of the Science and Art School. Amongst those present were:—Mr. Platt, M.P., Mr. Hibbert, M.P., Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., Mr. Cheetham, M.P., Mr. W. H. Gladstone, and the Mayor of Oldham. On this occasion Mr. Gladstone spoke chiefly on social and political questions.

On Thursday the right hon. gentleman addressed a crowded meeting of his South Lancashire constituents in the Public Hall, Ormskirk, and in the evening addressed another portion of his constituents in public meeting at Southport. The reports of these several speeches occupy several columns of the daily papers for two days in succession. We content ourselves with copious extracts under separate headings, which will indicate Mr. Gladstone's opinions on the principal topics of public interest at the present time:—

THE PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

I want now to make a charge against the commercial and trading classes of the country. Within the last twenty years they have got a vast deal richer than they were before, and, having become so much richer, I cannot but make this charge against them, that they have become a great deal more indifferent about the subject of public economy. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Now, gentlemen, that is wrong. It is wrong, because it is our duty not merely to consider how taxes affect ourselves, but to consider the great masses of the community; and, much as their condition has been improved of late years, it is not yet so improved but that it ought to be improved a great deal more; and moreover, there are very large portions of the community, large portions of the people—with respect to whom that improvement has been comparatively slight. (Hear, hear.) But if we were so rich, if every man in the country, from the lowest upwards, had what is, at any rate, the humblest idea of wealth we can give, that ample sufficiency, for himself and family, for food, for raiment, for habitation, for education and cultivation of his mind—and we are infinitely far from that point yet—still economy in the national expenditure ought to be prosecuted and pursued, because public economy is associated with public virtue, and because extravagance in public establishments is associated with jobbery and the extension of political vices. (Cheers.)

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

It is a very singular language. I am afraid it bothers foreigners dreadfully—(laughter)—and I often think that if I was a foreigner, and had to study the English language, and to learn to pronounce it, I should go mad. (Laughter.) I cannot conceive how it is that a foreigner learns to pronounce the English when you recollect the total absence of rule, method, and system, and all auxiliaries which are generally supplied when they have to acquire something which is difficult of attainment; but, however that may be, we have acquired it by use, and we have a most noble language. (Cheers.) Milton says of it in his famous tract on free printing, "Our English language is ever famous and foremost in the achievement of liberty." With what a history is it associated, and with what a literature! It is a very old literature, that of this country—at any rate some six hundred years old. That is a long time for a literature to last; but, although it has lasted a long time, I am happy and thankful to say there is not the slightest proof of decay. If I were asked for a proof of the life of the English nation, there is no difficulty in finding one; but I would not wish to take any better proof of the life of the English nation than the number of great poets who have marked and adorned the history of our country during the last fifty years. I do not think—certainly I do not pretend to say—that we have produced powers rivalling the very greatest. Those rare creations of nature which have appeared in the world once or twice, to be themselves a great portion of the patrimony of mankind—you cannot expect to have these prodigies always coming before us; but I may say that the poetry—the English poetry of the last fifty years—has been in itself, taking it altogether, and allowing for the quality of bad and indifferent, the existence of which cannot be denied, still, it has been a marvellous creation, and is itself a conclusive proof of the strength and vigour of the mental life of the nation, and it is one which well deserves your attention. I hope that, however much we may improve upon our former practice—and we need it much with regard to the acquisition of other languages, and especially modern ones—we should never commit the error, or rather we should cease to commit the error, of supposing that we know all that is to be known with regard to

our own language; whereas, on the contrary, it is full of rich mines of wealth, inviting us to work them; it continues the treasury of a literature that may almost defy the world; and not only so, but in studying that literature, and in becoming acquainted more fully with the language in which it is clothed, we improve our own means of thought and our own means of expression, and in improving our means of thought and expression, we improve our means of action in every department and purpose of life. (Cheers.)

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

It is necessary to make attempts to give consistency and unity throughout the country to the means and agencies of education which have been brought into operation within the last thirty years, with great benefit and advantage, but notwithstanding in a manner unequal, and, unfortunately, in many cases, not on the principle of giving the most help to those who are in the greatest need. (Hear, hear.) I will not attempt to discuss in detail, before a meeting like this, the means by which an equal system is to be formed; but I think that the bill brought into Parliament last year by Mr. Bruce and Mr. Forster, further considered and matured, and, doubtless, united with other provisions, which a further examination of the question will render it practicable to digest, does offer us a fair basis upon which we may hope to proceed. There is also, as I trust, a sanguine hope that that which has been called the religious difficulty may be got over. (Cheers.) The people of this country would not be disposed to sweep away at a stroke that vast mass of educational organisation which not only the general benevolence, but the Christian benevolence of the country in particular has put in action. (Cheers.) Whilst we feel it most desirable to bring out the animating influences of religious zeal and love in aid of the cause of general culture, we feel that it is not less imperative to open, if we can, the advantage of general knowledge to the whole population without imposing a religious difficulty. (Cheers.) The mode which has been suggested of effecting that object has been by what is commonly termed the conscience clause; and I am sanguine enough to hope that that provision is in itself, so reasonably founded as it is upon a double liberty—the perfect liberty of unimpaired religious teaching on the one side, and the perfect liberty of withdrawal to those who do not belong to a religious community on the other—I cannot help thinking that such a provision is so reasonable, and has so much of a primitive character, that it may be the means of solving in a great degree the difficulty, and enabling us to offer secular advantages of education to those to whom we are not able to give the advantages of Christian teaching. (Hear, hear.) If that be so, I think I am bound to say that there is another change that ought to be made in the system of teaching as it now prevails. Schools, which are called secular schools, ought not to be proscribed. (Hear, hear.) Undoubtedly, if you ask me, I prefer a school where religion is taught to one where it is not taught. But if there be benevolent individuals who are disposed to give or assist in giving to their own families or the families of others the advantages, not only the positive knowledge of a school, but the moral habits of a well-conducted school, I do not think it a sufficient reason for withholding public aid from the school, and placing it under a ban, that religious instruction does not form part of the system of that school. (Hear, hear.) Because, after all, it is to be recollected that the very many persons who may wish to found a school simply secular in its character may limit the sphere of that school, not out of disrespect to religion, not from undervaluing its inestimable blessings, but because they feel afraid of its becoming a source of discord in the school, and think it better, therefore, to leave that to the pastors and the parents. (Hear, hear.) Whether we adopt that opinion or not, it is fair to keep that possibility in mind; and I own it would not be altogether equitable and fair—on the contrary, it would be decidedly inequitable and unfair—if we were to say that because a school conveys secular knowledge only, that therefore it is to be regarded as unworthy of public assistance. (Cheers.)

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

To-day I have had the satisfaction of seeing two institutions in Oldham—one of them the co-operative mill, and the other the great—I believe the chief—co-operative store in the town. Both of these fall under the name of co-operation, yet they are essentially different. The one is a machinery for taking into the hands of the consumer the operations of retail dealing; the other is a joint-stock company with limited liability, and with shares reduced to an amount such as to place them within the reach of the operative community. Mind, I am not drawing any distinction between them to the prejudice of the one or the other. Both of them appear to be excellent institutions, conducted by the intelligence of the labouring community; they are enabled to be carried on with safety, and I am certain that in no place in England can they be carried on with more safety than in Oldham. (Hear, hear.) There is, however, a distinction between them in this respect: The co-operative store competes with the retail tradesman, and rather aims at correcting something in the manner in which retail trade is carried on than at any wider object. I have no doubt it has very important reflex effects, if I may so call them, and especially that it is most highly advantageously by giving a habit to dealing in ready money. (Cheers.) That habit, however, might be combined with the old system of retail trade—(Hear, hear)—it has not been so combined, and it would be of immense advantage if it could be; and I sometimes hope that one of the good effects of the co-operative store may be to bring private retail trading to the very same rule of action, and cause it to be carried on for ready money. (Hear, hear.) But there is no doubt at all that great good has been done by these co-operative stores in the town of Lancashire, where they have been well organised and well managed. But there are certain functions belonging to the co-operative mills which are rather of a different character. Why, in the co-operative mill the operative becomes a capitalist—a small one, it is true, but still a capitalist; and having acquired in the co-operative mill something beyond the wages of his labour, he has got the nucleus of that which may grow into comparative wealth. (Hear, hear.) He has a resource over and above that on which the ordinary labouring population depend for their daily bread. (Cheers.) Now I don't enter into the question whether it is possible for the labouring class in these communities extensively to undertake the management of these co-operative mills. All I say is that I hope it may prove to be so, because I think the advantages are enormous of a state of things in which the operative is thus enabled to assume the character of a capitalist; he becomes a link between the two great classes, and the existence of a class between the capitalist and the operative tends to soften whatever there is of collision between the relation of labour and capital. (Cheers.) I cannot conceive anything more likely to exercise a healing influence in any tendencies to difference between these two great classes than the existence of a great body of men who belong to both. They will learn—they will know of themselves, from practical experience, what are the feelings of each; and depend upon it, most of our difficulties arise from this—that we are not as capable as we should be of placing ourselves in the position of the man with whom we have to deal—(Hear, hear)—we look at things from our own point of view, and are not so apt or so able from the point of view of the man with whom we have to deal; and therefore the union of those interests, if it can be effected extensively and with economical advantage to those who carry on the mills, will be a social influence of the greatest possible value and importance. (Cheers.)

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Whether it is better to be moderate in the use of liquor, or abstain from it altogether, there can be no doubt that, when we consider how exhausting it must necessarily be under almost all circumstances in the process of daily labour, the man who denies himself after that exhausting process the apparent refreshment, at least, which results from the use of strong liquors, manifests a principle and a power of self-government and of self-control which tend to raise him greatly in the scale of moral beings. (Cheers.) There is another question which has been much discussed in this district, and that is with reference to the closing of public-houses on Sundays. I own that I am exceedingly averse to all legislation which draws or appears to draw offensive distinctions between one class of the community and another—(Hear, hear)—and I should not like to see a Parliament of gentlemen pass laws to restrain even the indulgences of another portion of the community, while they refuse to submit to the same restraint themselves; yet still I cannot but hope, with reference to the discussions which took place in this manufacturing district of Lancashire twelve months and more ago, and to a bill that was brought into Parliament by Mr. J. Abel Smith—I cannot but hope that something yet might be entertained, and that it might be possible in some way to accede to the wish, if it be the real and general wish, of the neighbouring population of this part of the country, by restraining at any rate the consumption of strong liquors within the walls of public-houses and other places where they are sold on the Lord's-day. (Cheers.) But, after all, it is not legislative restraints that will do the most; depend upon it, gentlemen, as the temptation and the mischief is within the individual breast of each man, so it is within our individual breasts, under the favour of the Almighty, that the remedy is to be found, and it is in the growth of good habits generally, and of a strong self-governing and self-controlling principle, with a sense that we were born not to grovel amidst gross enjoyments, but to aspire to something higher and more permanent,—it is in this, and not in legislative restraints, that we shall find the best and most hopeful means of relieving us as a nation from what has hitherto been in some degree a disgrace. (Cheers.)

TRADES' UNIONS.

I endeavour to look at the question of the association of labouring men in trades' unions, and I own it seems to me that nothing is to be said in principle against that association. The whole question is not of a thing bad; where mischief doth arise the thing is not of a thing bad but of a good thing that is misused. I think it is perfectly natural that those who live by their labour should associate in order to know one another's condition, and to make common cause in the fair assertion of their claims and their rights. (Cheers.) It is certainly very desirable, and I believe it to be a *bonâ fide* object of this association that labouring men should combine together to make provision for the sick and feeble among them. If trades' unions were all of that character, we must feel that they would be highly honourable to the persons engaged in them, and the rest of the community, instead of looking darkly upon them, would consider that they were laid under an obligation by the existence of societies having such objects in view. (Cheers.) Again, it appears to me that such an association of working men tends to raise their self-respect, and to create, if I may so speak, an atmosphere of healthy public opinion among working men. (Cheers.) They come to feel more responsibility to one another. The misconduct of one becomes to be felt as the misconduct of the whole, and the knowledge that it will be so felt acts as a restraint against such misconduct. This is undoubtedly a very great good. Nor is it possible to deny that the working men individually have shown in these associations that they are willing to sacrifice their individual interests to the interests of their class; therefore I think that all these observations, and probably others also which might be made with still greater force against the principle of association amongst labouring men, show that this principle is good; and the only question which can arise in the mind of a fair man is the question as to the mode in which they are to be applied. I will say nothing more about violence. I will assume with perfect confidence that on this point all your minds are made up. Any kind of association that tends to violence, under any conditions, is to be utterly repudiated and condemned. (Cheers.) There are two other modes of proceeding on the part of trades unions with respect to which much has been, and will be said. One is with respect to what are termed strikes, and another relates to the rules in restraint of industry. On one of these I have a very decided opinion; on the other one not quite so decided—the question of strikes. Although it is a very great evil when a strike occurs, especially if it interferes with the execution of contracts entered into by the master—for I am sure the feelings of every Englishman, however earnest in union operations, would be one of sorrow if the master is so placed in the position of breaking his engagements on account of strikes. This is one of the strongest arguments made by able men to show that the occurrence of strikes limits production. Undoubtedly it must limit the whole amount of the fund available for division between the labouring man and the capitalist. I think, as a question of political economy, there can be no doubt of this—that the aggregate amount of this fund is diminished by the occurrence of strikes. On the other hand, two things are to be said; one of them is, that although a strike diminishes the total amount of the fund divisible between the labouring man and the capitalist, yet it may increase the share of that fund which goes to the labouring man; and I cannot deny, in principle, that it is perfectly fair, as an economical question, for the labouring man to get as good a share of it as he can. (Cheers.) The principle of political economy is, that masters may sell in the dearest, and buy in the cheapest market. Labour is the commodity which the working man has to sell; he is quite right to get as good a price as he can for it. On the other hand, whilst a strike is of great injury to trade, I hope I shall offend no one by saying that it is of enormous advantage to society, that of all the stimulants and incentives to amendments in machinery none are equal to strikes—(Hear, hear)—because, as I admit that it is fair that the labourer should use the weapons of self-defence to get as good a share as he can of the fund divisible between him and his employer, so it is just as clear to me that the capitalist is as perfectly justified in taking all in his power to cheapen the production, and make himself independent of those who resort to strikes, and to widen the market into which he goes for labour, and to do this if he can by constant improvements in his machinery. This is a serious matter to be considered by those, especially those of the working men who consider strikes to be an infallible method of keeping their position relative to their employers. (Hear, hear.) I think every sensible man will feel, as it used to be said of competition in railways, by making new lines, that the threat of competition was better, in many respects, than the making of the new lines. So it may be that the threat or the fear of a strike would do more good, and lead to mutual concessions, which the strike itself would fail to achieve. I shall not presume to say that the remedy ought not to be open to all who choose to resort to it on their own responsibility; but I shall venture to say, with great deference, but with great confidence, that all rules made in restraint of labour and industry, made by any union, association, or authority whatsoever, to restrain and limit the exertions of its members, are bad from beginning to end. (Cheers.)

Mr. Gladstone went on to speak of machinery as the power which would supersede the slave power, and one day do all the brute work of civilised communities, and expressed his amusement at the fears expressed, when capital goes abroad, that England is going to be beaten in the competition. On the contrary, Mr. Gladstone held that this is just the stimulus England needs to make her put out her strength. "The Englishman is like a horse out of which you cannot get his best pace without a little flogging," and foreign competition is really the beneficent whip which administers that flogging.

REFORM: 1866.

At Ormskirk, Mr. Gladstone dwelt at some length on the Reform question. Four or five years ago, he said, his declaration that good cause ought to be shown why his countrymen should be excluded from the franchise, drew from Mr. Disraeli the remark, that he (Mr. Gladstone) had revived the doctrines of Tom Paine, and fairly frightened the University of Oxford into rejecting him as their member. How was it now? Mr. Gladstone showed, that after the last general election, when a large Liberal majority had been returned, it was the duty of the Government to deal with the Reform question, and they introduced the bill for a 7*l.* borough franchise. What happened in the year 1866?

We soon found that the Parliamentary dangers which there was some reason to anticipate were likely to be realised; that a section of the Liberal party was not disposed to go along with us in promoting any Parliamentary reform that involved an extension of any popular privilege; and as that was really the only mode of dealing with the suffrage, the only matter in regard to it which was of national importance, I will say there was a portion of the Liberal party not disposed to go with us in Parliamentary reform. There was a minority of 270 or 280 who by union with the dissentient section of the Liberal party might easily grow into a majority. They did grow into a majority, such a dissentient section did appear, and we now know the history of the arrangement by which that combination was effected. It has been told us in Parliament; it has been told us emphatically by a gentleman himself the most vehement, the most able, and the most distinguished of those who led that section—I mean Mr. Lowe—who stated his story openly without contradiction. He made known to us in the month of July last that the section with which he acted entered into communication with the leaders of the Opposition. (Hear, hear.) The object of the section was not to overthrow the Government: it was simply to prevent the lowering, or, as they called it, the degradation of the suffrage. The party then in Opposition gave to Mr. Lowe and his friends, according to his uncontradicted declaration, the most solemn assurance that, in the event of the defeat of our bill, and of our ejection from office, and of their accession to it, they would be no parties to the lowering or degradation of the borough suffrage. (Cheers.) That was the point which Mr. Lowe had in view. Mr. Lowe was politically allied to us. The gentlemen who felt with him on reform did not wish to place their power and their votes at the service of the Opposition for merely a party purpose; on the other hand, such was their objection to reform—most erroneous and deplorable, I think—(cheers)—that when they obtained, as they thought, from the chiefs of the Conservative Opposition, an unequivocal and binding engagement that, in the event of their accession to office, the suffrage should not be lowered, they entered frankly into the warfare of the campaign of 1866, and raised the numbers of the minority to such a point that they made to us a resistance which we were unable to overcome. Well, gentlemen, the result was that we retired from office. We did not retire because the House of Commons drove us out of it. At the moment we retired we knew perfectly well that the great majority of the House of Commons, including the bulk of those who had opposed us on reform, were desirous that we should continue to retain office, and were prepared to make a motion, the very terms of which they had made ready, expressive of their confidence in the Government and the councils of the State. (Hear, hear.) Aware of these facts, we came unhesitatingly to the conclusion

that the question lay between our existence as an administration on the one side, and the question of reform on the other. We were not desirous to retire—we were not insensible to the honour and the distinction of being entrusted with the guidance of the policy that is to govern a country and an empire such as this; but we believed the interest of the public in the settlement of the question of reform to be of vital interest. We said that if we continued in office we should still be exposed to the same description of opposition as had up to that time barred our way; we knew perfectly well that if, on the other hand, we retired from office, the triumph of reform was absolutely certain. (Great cheering.)

REFORM: 1867.

In 1867 there were two things absolutely different—the Reform Bill and the Reform Act—the former the worst bill on the subject ever presented to Parliament. It would have admitted about 120,000 working men out of four millions, and would also, by the dual vote, have given near 300,000 new votes to the very people who were already possessed of the suffrage; that is to say, instead of extending or increasing, it would have immensely diminished the power of the labouring class. One after another the professed safeguards of the bill were abandoned—it was not amended but metamorphosed—till, as the Duke of Buccleugh said, all that was left of the original measure was the word "whereas." As it now stood, it was, no doubt, an enormous advance in the political growth of England, and the improvements in the bill were the work of the Liberal party.

We got rid of the tax franchise; we got rid of the voting papers; we made some extension, though I am sorry to say we failed in making any reasonable or due extension, for the redistribution of seats.

The representation of minorities was not his scheme, and he did not approve of it; and he showed how it would work; taking the case of Liverpool by way of illustration—

I will assume that the majority in Liverpool consists of 15,000, and the minority of 10,000 or 12,000. I take the numbers arbitrarily, because I do not desire to be too precise. The argument is this—it is said that these 12,000 men are so important that it is intolerable they should remain without representatives. Suppose that to be true—and it is possible there may be gentlemen in this room who think that the 12,000 should have a distinct representation of their own—suppose, I say, on account of their numbers, combined with their intelligence, you will arrange a system under which these 12,000 shall have a member. What I want to know is from where that member is to be got. Is it just or tolerable, if these 12,000 are to be represented, to take them from the number we had allotted to the 15,000 or more, from the 200, 300, or 400 who constitute the voting majority in many of the little boroughs of England! It appears to me that a grosser injustice could not be conceived than that after we had promised the majority in Liverpool and other great communities, and after in the case of counties the land had given to the majority the power of returning those members, we should take one away from them and give it to a minority in order to maintain the representation of Houston or Ashburton, or some other places, the names of which I will not trouble you with, because if I did you would probably not know whether they were in England or Abyssinia? (Cheers and laughter.)

With all its defects, however, the Reform Act constituted a great epoch in the history and progress of British legislation. But they had not done with the question. (Cheers.) They had to deal with Scotland and Ireland, and when they again dealt with redistribution it ought effectually to be settled. They had also to consider the report of the Boundary Commission, and in relation to that he declared that the principle that all persons, as far as possible, employed in trade and industry, should not only be represented in towns, but that the county representation should be exclusively of an agricultural character was totally void and absolutely unknown to the British Constitution. It would enormously weaken all Liberal influences in the county elections, was false in principle, mischievous in practice, and tended to lower greatly the vigour and energy of the country. He admitted that the counties were under-represented, but he would not take from the great towns to supply the deficiency, but from those constituencies which were over-represented. If the towns have grown, let their boundaries be extended, but let them still be towns; and let those who are taken into the towns for the purpose of Parliamentary voting be taken into the towns also for all other purposes. As to Scotland, she was also under-represented, but he would not consent to increase the aggregate number of members of the House of Commons to redress the balance. That House was already too large for a deliberative assembly. Their duty would be to find, and find from unobjectionable sources, an increase of members for Scotland to meet in some fair and moderate degree the increased weight which Scotland enjoyed as one of three kingdoms. He hoped the franchise to be proposed for Ireland would be in a liberal spirit, for they must endeavour to give one heart and one mind to the people of all the three divisions of the kingdom, and that could not be unless they acted with perfect equality and impartiality.

PARTY CLAIMS.

When they came to a general election, he hoped the electors would look quite as much, or rather more, to the past conduct of men than to the pledges they might give. They had been told by Mr. Disraeli that thirty-two measures, which had been a great boon to the country, had been supported by his party and opposed by the Liberals. No list was given of them to satisfy their great curiosity. What were they?

I declare to you I should be put very hard to it if I were compelled to mention one of them,—that is to say, great measures of benefit for the people which were strenuously supported by the friends of the opposite party, and which were bitterly opposed from another quarter—that is, of course, from the Liberal portion of the House. I do not know what they were, but gentlemen, I do know what they were not—they were not the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, which formed in part the fulfilment and in part the promise of fulfilment of the duties of this country towards Ireland, and of ourselves, as lovers of liberty, towards all our fellow-subjects, whether Roman Catholics or not—(cheers); they were not the repeal of the disabilities of Protestant Dissenters; they were not the repeal of the Corn-laws; they were not reform of Parliament; they were not the introduction of principles of fair representative government into the municipal communities of the country; they were not the repeal of the Navigation Laws, which was to ruin all our shipping, just as the repeal of the Corn-laws was to have ruined our agriculture, but which resulted in an enormous extension of our shipping, as the repeal of the Corn-laws resulted in immense increase in the value of our produce; they were not the treaty with France, which has opened and extended the commerce of the country, and in extending the commerce of the country has done more by joining two nations with the right hand of fellowship, never again, I trust, to be severed; they were not reform of the whole tariff of the country, which has given you, without almost any exception, the absolute command of almost all the raw material that the world can produce without payment of a single shilling to the Exchequer; they were not the establishment of that free press which now circulates almost by millions, if not by millions, throughout the whole length of this country, and penetrates into every nook and corner of the land. Well, gentlemen, I really thought, in my blindness and benighted ignorance, that those were the measures, or, at all events, that they were the contested measures, because some measures—I am thankful to say many good and valuable measures—have passed the Legislature without contest. I thought it was the contests upon these measures which had given a special character to the Parliamentary history of the age. Gentlemen, I still think so, and ask you if you think the spirit which formed and conceived and dictated such measures is to continue to prevail in the councils of the country. (Cheers.)

THE LESSON OF THE ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION.

If, gentlemen, there is a special lesson to be learnt from the difficulty in which we now find ourselves, I think it is this, that we should be more wary—(Hear)—and more shy—(Hear)—than we have hitherto been about establishing diplomatic relations—(applause)—with countries and with Sovereigns on whose civilisation reliance cannot be placed—(renewed applause)—to the degree that is necessary to give a reasonable assurance of the stability and safety of those relations. (Cheers.) And if you will allow me, gentlemen, to go one step further, I will yet a little more presume upon your patience. (Applause.) Many of you belong to one of the very greatest, and certainly one of the most enterprising, communities of the world. It is the tendency of commerce—the happy and beneficent tendency of commerce—never to be content with its present conquests so long as there are new realms to be subdued. It is, therefore, not a matter of discredit but of praise to those connected with the mercantile enterprise of the country when they seek to carry the business of peaceful exchange into regions that have not hitherto known it. (Cheers). I do not desire and should not presume to check that honourable tendency; but this I do say, that even that tendency requires to be checked and watched when it assumes, and it does and must sometimes assume, the character of a disposition prematurely to force the Government of England, through the exercise possibly of active but partial influences, into the contraction of engagements of this kind, into the formation of relations of this kind that we have now before us—relations which, when they are once formed, we find it impossible either to sustain with safety or to recede from with honour. (Cheers.)

SHORT PARLIAMENTS AND SECRET VOTING.

Some amongst us were extremely anxious for shortened Parliaments. Now, as far as popular control is concerned, I doubt very much whether the shortening of Parliament is necessary in order to make that control efficacious, for I don't see that there is any country in the world—certainly not the Republic of the United States—in which the mature and strong conviction of the people is more quickly represented in the action of the representative body than it is at this moment in the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) Well, again, there is the question of secret voting. Now with respect to secret voting, we are passing into a state of things that we have not yet experienced, and in which it would be unwise too confidently to anticipate the results of experience. Some of the arguments of the ballot are greatly weakened, some of them, on the other hand, are strengthened by an extended suffrage. I am bound, however, to say, whether it be, or be not, the infirmity of old age, or its approach, or to what cause it may be due I don't know, but I own to an attachment to what I view as the old English principle, that as far as possible all public duties and functions should be performed in the public eye. (Cheers.) It may be, it certainly might be, that if we were to find the gross evil of intimidation springing up in the country we might be compelled to seek a remedy, but let us hope that will not be the case, and that the objects which we have in view, viz., the founding our whole policy and legislation upon principles of liberty and justice, may yet be attained without the loss of those salutary influences which certainly, I think, attend the operations of publicity in what concerns all the institutions of this country. (Cheers.)

THE FENIAN OUTRAGES.

For many years to come, probably, Ireland and its claims would engage all their attention; and in considering the wicked and detestable Fenian outrages of the last few weeks, he hoped they would endeavour to preserve an equal temper and perfect self-command, and not confound the cause of Fenianism with the cause of Ireland. Excitement should be moderated lest it found its way to the jury-box and the bench of justice. Let those tried for these outrages have a fair trial. Every man was innocent until legally found guilty.

The august figure of Justice has eyes and ears, nay, it should be all eyes and all ears for every description of testimony and information that bears upon the truth of charges, but for all matter that is not directly connected with the proof of charges, with whatever tends to prejudice the case, to inflame the mind, to carry the heat and temper of passion into the verdict that may be delivered, for all matters such as that the old proverb is good—Justice should be absolutely deaf and absolutely blind. If the very throne were at stake, the ancient throne on which sits the beloved and venerated figure of our Sovereign—if the old and time-honoured laws of this kingdom were at stake—if every institution that we value and hold dear, if every institution that we have received from our fathers, and that we hope to hand down to our children, were at stake in the issue of a criminal charge—still you must look at nothing but the sufficiency of the proof; you must let all changes, you must let all dangers be incurred, you must suffer the world to take its course, even though it were cracking in your ears, rather than allow the credit and the sanctity of justice to be tainted for a moment in the smallest degree. (Cheers.)

He was in favour of leniency to political offenders, but the Fenians were not political offenders. There was a deep moral taint and degradation about the thing. Take the invasion of Canada by way of illustration:—

Canada had inflicted no wrongs upon Ireland. (Hear, hear.) Ireland has wrongs. Canada has no power to redress them, but whatever we may have, Canada, with respect to Ireland, is as innocent as a child unborn, and I say to carry fire and sword within the borders of Canada thus unequivocally, and those notoriously guiltless, merely because it is dreamed or supposed that through Canada some disgrace or some wound may be inflicted on England, is the very height and the very depth of human wickedness. (Cheers.)

He assumed that the Manchester convicts were fairly tried and justly convicted, and he declined to pass any censure, great or small, upon the Government for having refused to exercise the prerogative of mercy in that case. He then came to Clerkenwell, and he saw a painful family likeness in all the series of outrages, beginning with the invasion of Canada, continued at Manchester, again at Clerkenwell, and God only knew whether as yet or not brought to a conclusion. But he hoped they would, as one man, support the Crown and its responsible advisers in a just administration of the law, well knowing that they were securing the interests of every member of society, including the handful of misguided people who might be tempted to sympathise with the perpetrators of this crime. (Loud cheers.)

Depend upon it that those who approve of this crime are the merest handful; naturally the people for whom we could find the most excuse would be the Irish, but I have learned from the most undoubted authority that the Irish in Lancashire are wholly free from the taint of this sympathy. (Loud cheers.) A few heated and erratic minds are to be found in every rank of the community upon whose actions and judgments no man can count; but with these exceptions I am persuaded that not only the error but the deep guilt of this sympathy does not attach itself to any considerable portion of the Irish community. (Cheers.) This is a fell disease infecting our society. No doubt its development has been assisted by the importation of reckless spirits who have been, naturally enough, developed on the other side of the Atlantic by the exigencies of a great and exasperating war—(cheers)—do not let us make this a reproach to our Atlantic brethren. Do not for a moment suppose that I intend to insinuate any idea of the kind, which I would be the first to condemn, for the exigencies of such a war would naturally develop in some congenial minds even such a mischievous and painful growth of human wickedness as this.

THE CLAIMS OF IRELAND.

But might it not be that these horrible manifestations were intended, in the merciful designs of Providence, to incite this nation to a greater search of its own heart and spirit and conscience with reference to the condition of Ireland and the legislation affecting that country? (Loud applause.) It was, to say the very least, a matter of the utmost sadness to consider that after six hundred years of political connection between England and Ireland, that union of heart and spirit which was absolutely necessary for the welfare of the country had not yet been brought about. Of late years there had been great improvement in their legislation in respect to Ireland. But still the Irish were dissatisfied. Past history showed that there was a marvellous power of conciliation in the proposal of equitable measures.

This purports to be a union of three kingdoms. Now one question arises, if the three kingdoms are to be united, how are they respectively to be governed? My answer is this. There are certain matters in which the very effect of a union requires that the three should have a common opinion and a common policy. (Cheers.) So far as that goes, I would not for a moment listen to any plea whatever for separate institutions and a separate policy for England, or for Scotland, or for Ireland; but this I venture to say, that in all matters except that, no man ought to be able to say that any one of these three countries is governed according to the traditions, the views, and the ideas of another; and if I am asked what is meant by that, I reply by an illustration much clearer than argument. I reply by pointing to the policy that the Parliament of Great Britain and of the United Kingdom has never failed to pursue in respect to Scotland. (Cheers.) There must be many Scotchmen here present. They abound, and I am thankful they abound in this community. (Laughter.) If there had not been a facility for the importation of Scotchmen it is highly probable that I should not have been here. (Laughter.) But I appeal to you, who as Englishmen pride yourselves as being the first among the nations of the world in the sense of public justice, have we treated Ireland as we have treated Scotland? If we had endeavoured to govern the Scotch according to English notions and ideas, I ask whether they would have been the contented community which they now are? (Cheers.)

His belief was that the recent outrage excited no

sympathy in Ireland, and that even the sympathy which had been shown with the three men executed at Manchester was procured by erroneous statements of the case, and groundless imputations on the administration of justice. Nevertheless, there was disaffection in Ireland.

We have not in Ireland that degree and amount of active loyalty to and respect for the law which is necessary in order to constitute a thoroughly well ordered and united community—(Hear, hear)—and we have this painful circumstance, that whilst large portions of the Irish population from year to year have left the country to pursue their fortunes in a foreign land, they have carried with them, along with a patient and tender attachment to the soil, something that almost might be described as a fierce resentment, an extinguishable aversion to the authority, the government, and the institutions of this country; and, for my part, gentlemen, I own I am not satisfied when I hear people say—"Yes, that is so, but it is because they are so unreasonable." Well, they may be unreasonable. We are all unreasonable more or less. We are all unreasonable, especially when we have suffered wrong—(Hear, hear)—and depend upon it we are now going to enter into a controversy with a lawless power, that aims its blows not at wealth, not at property, not at government, not at aristocracy, not at any one class or portion of the community, but at public order and at the peace of society. And if we are to enter with a clear conscience into that contest, if we are to be able to persevere in that fearless and firm administration of the law which I for one earnestly desire, and will heartily support—(Hear, hear, and cheers)—we must satisfy ourselves that as regards those causes of legislation which bear upon the permanent condition of a people we have set ourselves in the right. (Hear, hear.) What we want is that those sympathies in Ireland which now hang and float bewildered between law and lawlessness shall be brought into active alliance with the law. (Hear, hear.) What we want is to have Ireland like Scotland, so that at last and after all these generations, we may be enabled, instead of hearing in every corner of Europe the most painful commentaries upon the policy of England towards Ireland—we may be able to look our fellow Europeans of every nation in the face, and challenge any of them to deny that we have administered to the sister island the full benefit of equal justice.

In this case there was much, even in the method of treatment, as distinguished from the substance of measures, in kindness, in sympathy, in recognition, in equality, in frank union, in all where they could unite—which of themselves had a great effect in Ireland. He would be no party to endeavour to bribe Ireland into union with this country by the vulgar expedient of doses of public money; if only because they wished to raise Ireland to the dignity of perfect political freedom, and not to depress her spirit and fix for her a servile position. He would have as equitable a measure of Reform for Ireland as for England, and would lift his voice against any postponement of her claims, in this respect, as a false and fatal policy.

IRISH EDUCATION.

As regarded education, Ireland had not received equal treatment up to that very hour—

The members of the Established Church in Ireland have, and I for one have not the slightest objection to their having, on the contrary, I rejoice in their having, the means of having their children trained in every branch of useful secular knowledge in an institution where their religion is taught. The same advantage is not given to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland (Hear, hear), neither is it fully given to the Presbyterian population of Ireland; but, gentlemen, what I have to say, if I speak of the Presbyterian population, is, that, in the first place, their case is mitigated by a number of circumstances which it is not now necessary to detail; and, in the second place, I think it is our duty to look at those who, from their enormous numbers, constitute the bulk and mass of the Irish nation they have founded in Ireland. I should say I believe them conscientiously to be excellent institutions, in which persons of all religious creeds and persuasions should receive a good and sound secular education, and should obtain religious education by arrangements of their own. (Hear, hear.) That was the plan of Sir Robert Peel, and even on that account I should be very slow indeed and very loth to speak disparagingly of it; but I have not a word to say against it. All that I have to say is that, at the present moment, no University degree can be granted in Ireland except in Trinity College, Dublin, where the system of the Established Church is taught, or in the Queen's Colleges in various parts, where no system of religion is taught at all as a part of the system of education. So that if there be a Roman Catholic, and there are numbers of them, who hold in Ireland the very same opinion that the great bulk of us hold in England—viz., that we prefer having our children trained in establishments where their own religion is taught—those children are debarred from the privilege of a University degree, and that degree being a civil privilege, it comes to this, that there are still in Ireland civil disabilities on account of religious opinion. Now we would not bear that ourselves. I own that if I were prohibited from sending my son to be trained in a school where his religion was not taught, I should think it a great grievance. I ask you as good citizens, as just men, to place yourself in the position of the Roman Catholics or Presbyterians who hold the opinion I have described, and I ask whether it can be said that we have yet given full and perfect equality to Ireland.

THE TENURE OF LAND IN IRELAND.

We all know that although in the abstract the law of England and the law of Ireland may be pretty nearly the same, although the naked principle of the law runs so much in favour of the landlord that everything that the tenant does in the way of improvement, and everything he puts into the soil, becomes the property of the landlord when he quits it; yet the law is mitigated in different districts by a multitude of local customs, greatly improving the position of the tenant, especially in a country like this, but in Ireland, with the exception of certain parts almost entirely Protestant, this is not so. In the Protestant portion there is a custom called tenant right; but in the west of the country there is no such custom, and there is no protection for the tenant's improvements unless they have been made under expressed formal contract. This is a question of vital importance to the Irish. Long ago Sir Robert Peel endeavoured to apply and to give to the agricultural population of Ireland a reasonable interest in improvement, and yet that reform, which was regarded as so urgent by a Minister speaking in the name of a Conservative Government, to this hour has never been adopted; to this hour the Irish tenants remain without that reasonable security. In the vast majority of cases holding from year to year only a very small minority obtain the assistance of the landlord's capital to improve the soil. Can you greatly wonder if a spirit of hopelessness has come over that people with respect to their present position, and with that hopelessness there is some defect in the warm and active attachment which we should like to find prevailing between the two countries? Here, gentlemen, there is a subject which, depend upon it, is of vast importance; that, laying aside all idle prejudices, and being prepared to face all factitious obstacles, we should proceed to deal with and lead to a satisfactory conclusion. (Cheers.)

THE IRISH CHURCH.

I say, in the face of my respected friend, and without the least fear of offending, we may all lament it in our several degrees and manner—we may lament that Ireland is as she is, and that you and we are not more of one mind, that she does not more conform to our pattern in respect to religious matters; but we must recognise the fact in the case of Scotland. When a difference of the kind arose, you allowed the Scotch to hold their own way, and I do not believe there is a man, whatever his persuasion, that would wish to undo that state of things. In Ireland you have adopted the opposite rule; you have got a small portion of Ireland holding that form of belief which is, I apprehend, the belief of the majority in England, and, therefore, the English ideas and opinions in favour of the English form of government are carried into Ireland, and the national endowments of the country are given exclusively to the religion of a small number of persons, comprising among themselves almost all the whole wealth of the country, while the multitude of the poor of the country are left to shift for themselves (cheers)—that is to say, religious inequality exists in Ireland in its most glaring form. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, we would not endure that in our country. If there were a Roman Catholic country, with a dominant Roman Catholic majority, endeavouring to enforce upon us the simple converse of that which we enforce upon Ireland, to apply against us the principle we now apply against them, I ask you whether we should patiently bear it or not. No, gentlemen, we should not bear it. (Hear, hear.) We may perhaps by some practices in the methods and expedients of politics show a greater aptitude than our Irish brethren in choosing out for ourselves effectual ways and means in applying a remedy to the evil; but if that evil had been felt by us as it has been felt by them, a remedy in one shape or another we should and would have applied, and would have done it long ago. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, I must express to you my firm conviction that principles of religion must be established in Ireland (cheers), and that it is vain to look to a true union and harmony between that country and this until the legislature of this country shall have made up its mind to govern and to attain that great consummation. It may involve a sacrifice of our pride, there may be difficulties to encounter upon the way, and there are those who would tell us that it is hostile to religion. I, for my part, believe that nothing ever was or ever will be hostile to religion which is agreeable to justice (cheers); but let me commend this subject to your deep, earnest, and serious reflection, for rely upon it you have got this before you; it faces you, it confronts you, it stops you in the way, it will pursue you wherever you go. Ireland is at your doors, Providence has placed her there, law and legislature have made a compact between you; you must face these obligations, you must deal with them and discharge them. As to the modes of giving effect to this principle, I don't enter upon them. I am of opinion they should be dictated, as a general rule, by that which may appear to be the mature, well-considered, and general sense of the Irish people. But as to the principle itself I entertain a depth of conviction in regard to it, and a strength of assurance that it will come up and meet us at every step of our future progress until we have dealt with it effectually, that won't suffer me to be silent in your presence, but urges me again and again to beg you to lay to heart the considerations that are connected with the complete and effectual settlement of this great and pressing question.

THE LATE BRADFORD ELECTION.

The following is a summary of the expenses incurred by and on behalf of the respective candidates in the contested election at Bradford in October last:—

ON BEHALF OF MR. M. W. THOMPSON, M.P.

	£	s.	d.
Messengers, canvassers, agents, &c., in the different Wards	615	19	11
Law expenses	298	12	10
Returning-officer's expenses	210	5	3
Printing and advertising	590	12	4
Bill-posting	32	6	6
Stationery	64	18	9
Rent, rates, &c., of central and other committee-rooms	314	15	4
Miscellaneous	135	15	8
Total	£2,263	6	7

ON BEHALF OF MR. E. MIALL.

	£	s.	d.
Rent, taxes, use of furniture, &c.	126	1	0
Printing	195	7	6
Advertising	215	1	0
Bill-posting	18	2	0
Stationery	6	5	1
Postage	70	11	1
Cabs	3	8	0
Telegrams	2	3	0
Clerks and messengers' wages	208	3	0
Refreshment at central committee-room for clerks, &c.	26	14	3
Non-electors' committee's expenses	16	11	0
Expenses of ward committees	59	8	10
Mayor's charges for hustings	194	14	3
Professional and legal charges	132	10	8
Fixtures and furniture	3	17	3
Sundries	1	15	2
Total	£1,335	13	1

Last week an aggregate meeting of Reformers in the various wards was held at the Mechanics' Institute, to adopt measures for preparing for the election of 1867. The chairman (R. Kell, Esq.) said that the Bradford registration would soon come to an end, and that it seemed desirable to organise all Reformers into one body. A resolution in favour of united action for the completion of the Reform Act of last session was moved by Mr. Walwork, and seconded by Councillor Boothroyd, who appealed to the middle classes to help the working classes to assist them in their object. Councillor Priestley urged union with a view to 1869, and said they ought to fight for Mr. Miall, not only as a man who would represent them, but as a man who was deserving to be sent to Parliament by such a constituency. (Cheers.) But there was a great first to be done. Mr. Alfred Illingworth said that no doubt the work before them was immense. They would in all probability have 18,000 names upon the register, or 12,000 at the least; and the entering of these names upon the register would in itself be a very great task indeed, and involve a heavy expenditure. Councillor Snowden moved a resolution proposing a free conference of Liberals connected with the various wards and organisations some time in January, which was seconded by Mr. J. King, and supported by Councillor Cole, who said that he was sure that it was quite within their reach not only to return their member, but to return him with a large and overwhelming majority. It had been said that the working men of this community were still unprepared to exercise the privilege of voting to return a member to the House of Commons. Let the working men employ their time between now and 1869, and give a most unequivocal denial to that charge. In reply to a question, the chairman said that all rates laid on the 5th of January must be paid when the list was made out in July, 1868. The list came into force at the end of 1868. Any rates that were payable by the 5th of July must be paid on or before that day. A vote of thanks to the chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

Postscript.

Tuesday, December 24, 1867.

LATEST FOREIGN NEWS.

In consequence of the adverse vote of Monday, the Italian Ministry has resigned. It is stated that Signor Lanza, Baron Ricasoli, and General Cialdini, have declined to undertake the task of forming a new Ministry, that the King has held a consultation with Signor Ratazzi and General Durando, and that his Majesty has charged General Menabrea with the formation of a new Ministry.

The discussion of the Army Reorganisation Bill in the French Chamber continues.

The Paris *Presse* asserts that French troops will again shortly be despatched to Rome, and that orders will be sent to Toulon to prepare transports for the immediate embarkation of 20,000 men.

MEETING AT ROCHDALE.—A numerously attended public meeting was held in the new theatre, Rochdale, last evening for the purpose of presenting an address to Mr. Jacob Bright congratulating him upon his election for Manchester. The Mayor (Mr. Whitaker) occupied the chair. The address to Mr. Jacob Bright was moved by Mr. E. Ashworth, seconded by Mr. Robinson, the ex-Mayor, and responded to. Mr. John Bright then addressed the meeting at some length—his principal topics being the antecedents and obstructive policy of the Tory party and the wrongs of Ireland.

Gustave Doré has just sold the immense picture which occupied so large a space in the central *salon* of the annual exhibition at Paris this year to an American amateur for 2,200*l*. The subject is a gambling table at Baden.

NITRO-GLYCERINE.—The frequent recurrence of accidents in connection with this highly dangerous explosive imperatively calls for legislation to prevent its use in industrial undertakings; and inasmuch as, practically considered, it has no advantages and many disadvantages in comparison with gunpowder, its use should be immediately prohibited. It is true that a similar weight of the nitro-glycerine possesses eight or ten times the explosive force of gunpowder; but as this extra force is indivisible, and is not required for the work to be done, it is valueless in a commercial sense. It must further be considered that nitro-glycerine (and the same remarks will apply to the other new explosive—dynamite—invented by Mr. Nobel) and its vapours are highly poisonous, which is not the case with gunpowder. Again, gunpowder always retains one character, and is never more dangerous than when first made, careless manufacture resulting only in a less dangerous compound. Nitro-glycerine, on the other hand, even most carefully made, is more dangerous than gunpowder, and any want of care in manufacture, or even a slight change of temperature after it is manufactured, makes it still more dangerous. It congeals (and may then be exploded by scarcely more than breaking a crystal) at a much higher temperature than water freezes, and the suggestion that it may then be rendered safer by warming it before the fire should be adopted with as much caution as a proposition to "keep your powder dry" by storing it in a well-heated furnace.—*Mining Journal.*

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Secretary of the East End London Mission and Relief Society acknowledge the receipt of four pairs of shildren's boots from R. L.—Dec. 20, 1867.

THE NONCONFORMIST.

CHANGE OF DAY OF PUBLICATION.

At the suggestion of esteemed friends, who have only given expression to hints that have from time to time been forwarded to us, and after very careful consideration on our own part, it has been decided, from the beginning of the next year, to bring out the *Nonconformist* at the close instead of in the middle of the week. We believe that we shall thereby consult the general convenience of our readers as well as promote the greater efficiency of the paper. The prevalent feeling, now that the cheap daily press is so widely diffused, is in favour of the publication of weekly newspapers at the end of the week. In our own case there are special reasons to recommend the change. We shall thus be able, without inconvenient delay, to report and comment upon ecclesiastical discussions in Parliament, which generally take place on Wednesdays. It will also be in our power, in connection with this alteration, to give a more complete digest of the week's news, and to devote larger space to those special features and that exclusive intelligence which are more than ever expected in London weekly journals. On the whole, we have strong confidence that the alteration in the day of publication will both meet the views of the majority of our readers, and enable us to make the contents of the paper more original and attractive.

The first number of the *Nonconformist* for 1868, will therefore be published next week on *Friday afternoon (for Saturday)*, so as to reach our London subscribers the same evening, and our country friends on the following morning. The paper will appear in due course on each succeeding *Friday, (for Saturday)*, instead of *Wednesday*, as heretofore.

The Nonconformist.

TUESDAY, DEC. 24, 1867.

SUMMARY.

THE Fenian conspirators, if unable to commit further outrages in London, can still keep up the disquietude of the public. There are rumours of attempted or intended incendiary acts at Warrington and Glasgow, of precautions taken against torpedoes by the ships of war at Plymouth, and of vessels sent to cruise off the Lizards in search of a Fenian privateer. If the Fenians blunder in action, they have brought to perfection the art of creating a panic. In the metropolis the desperadoes have reason to be quiet, not only because the police are everywhere on the alert, and some thousands of special constables have been sworn in, but from fear of being betrayed. One man, at least, has turned Queen's evidence and lifted the veil. Through him four more arrests have been made, and two of these men, together with the three already in custody, were yesterday charged with the wilful murder of the persons killed in the explosion at Clerkenwell. So far as it goes, the evidence of Vaughan the approver is as disgusting as it is interesting. It gives us a glimpse of the low and brutal habits of the ruffians by whom the late outrages are supposed to have been committed. But where are the leaders of this desperate gang?—the villains who plan and direct these acts of warfare against society and humanity? Apparently only their tools have as yet been captured; but if, as is said, the police have got to the very heart of the conspiracy, the centres and head-centres may at last get their due.

Mr. Bright, as well as Mr. Gladstone, has appeared in public during the week to enliven the newspapers at this period of political dulness, and to furnish food for meditation. Last night Mr. Jacob Bright, at a large meeting in Rochdale, was presented by his fellow-townsmen with an address of congratulation on his election to represent Manchester; and a resolution refusing confidence to the Tory Government which was the instrument of passing the Reform Bill, furnished his elder brother with a text for reviewing the antecedents of Lord Derby's party, and their claims to public confidence, and insisting on the completion of the Act of last Session. When he came to the Irish question, Mr. John Bright was as impressive as he certainly was outspoken. He showed how Toryism had had the opportunity of reigning supreme in that country, and behold the outcome!—that there and in Canada, which had been assailed on account of Ireland, we were maintaining 50,000 men to keep the peace—that every one knew what remedies were needed, but that no statesman had the resolution to carry them into effect—and that the Irish difficulty had become a scandal to the whole civilised world. "I think," said Mr. Bright—

> I think that this question has within its perils such as for a long time this country has not known, and that it requires a great resolution and wisdom such as we don't often find in our Governments to meet it as it requires to be met. If Ireland is to be made content, if her wounds are to be healed, if there is to be henceforth what there never has yet been, a united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; if the sceptre of the Queen, representing the majesty of the law, shall ever be of equal authority east and west of the Channel, it must be done and it can only be done by measures of great statesmanship and of justice. The morals of the turf, tried on the floor of Parliament or in the secresy of the Cabinet, will fail here. The disease which we are discussing is one of a different character; but there are remedies: unless it be that the remedies are too late. Has this country fallen so low that it can produce no statesman equal to these things? I say the man who, leading in the councils of the Queen's Government, shall grasp this great question and end it—who shall comprehend the remedies and shall administer them, and make them law, he would do that which in future time the pen of history will delight to trace.

Will this appeal be taken up? No one believes it. Fenianism, in its lawless manifestations at least, will soon be crushed—but who is sanguine enough to believe that aught will be done to settle the land or the Church question for some eighteen months to come? Next Session will be wasted—for every knotty question relating to Ireland has been put into commission, as though, after a quarter of a century of complaint and discussion, no one knew the nature of her grievances!

Apropos of the Abyssinian expedition, Major Anson, M.P., has been making a very sensible speech down in Staffordshire. That gallant officer is in a state of perplexity which many other people share, if they don't give expression to it. He does not, he says, understand why they want 12,000 men, with some 20,000 camp followers, to penetrate into a country defended by unarmed and uncivilised people. Such a thing almost makes him blush with shame for his country. He fears, too, that the possibility of their friend Theodore killing the prisoners or taking them out of our reach has not been sufficiently considered. Was there not the danger that they might find themselves on the heights of Abyssinia with a magnificent army, unable to inflict punishment or to take revenge, with nothing to do but to march back to their ships, amid the laughter of the world? Such are the kind of reflections which the recent intelligence from Abyssinia is calculated to suggest. It would almost seem as though there were troops enough already there to move forward, and by a sudden dash get possession of Theodorus's captives, and shatter the declining power of that unpopular Sovereign himself. Such a view, though quite revolutionary from a professional point of view, is the natural suggestion of recent telegrams. But while Colonel Merewether could, perhaps, in a few weeks settle the matter, Sir R. Napier remains at Bombay organising and organising. May not the world laugh at and deride a caution which looks like either cowardice or stupidity?

The lengthened debates in the Italian Chamber of Deputies have unexpectedly resulted in the defeat of the Menabrea Cabinet, though only by a majority of two. It was not a very clear vote—the decision having been taken on a resolution which, besides expressing confidence in the Government, affirmed that Rome ought to be the capital of Italy, and deprecated illegal means for securing it. Such statesmen as Italy possesses decline to accept the responsibilities of office, and General Menabrea will probably remain in power and reconstruct his administration. The policy of the nation, as interpreted by Parliament, and accepted by the King's advisers, is bold enough. It claims Rome as the capital, and refuses, for the present at least, to pay to the impoverished Papal Government the proportion of debt on the provinces which have been annexed to Italy. The French Emperor is, of course, irritated at a decision which leaves him to sustain in part the disproportionate Papal army, and he is said to have ordered 20,000 men to return to Rome. But it is not of much consequence to Italy whether foreign troops hold Rome or Civita Vecchia—in small numbers or in imposing force. Napoleon III. will find that the game he is bent on playing is not entirely in his own hands.

MR. GLADSTONE AMONG HIS CONSTITUENTS.

WITHIN the past week Mr. Gladstone has been paying visits to certain places in Lancashire, which may perhaps be correctly described as outlying portions of the constituency which he represents in the House of Commons. He has indulged his admirers and friends in each of these places with some public statement of his views on leading social and political topics. The reports of his several addresses have filled many columns of the daily papers, and we have thought it due to our readers to lay before them copious extracts from those reports, arranged, for convenience' sake, under different headings. Altogether, they constitute the political programme of the Liberal party—so far at least as it can be settled by the decision of its chief. It has made its appearance most opportunely. There is nothing in the shape of news to divide with it the attention of the public. It follows close upon a preliminary Session which, although engrossed by a single subject, and that an unwelcome one, served to recall men's thoughts from private pleasures to public business—and it precedes the normal Parliamentary Session by a sufficient interval to admit of being maturely considered by those members who follow Mr. Gladstone's lead, before they will be called into action. His public utterances, therefore, under such circumstances, claim a more studious perusal than those even of such a statesman ordinarily receive.

In passing these speeches under review, we should probably be doing an injustice to one of the most brilliant orators of the age, were we to lose sight of the responsibility under which it is his lot to speak. Mr. Gladstone, it is true, is just now free from the shackles of office—but he is an expectant Premier, and common prudence compels him to deal out his political opinions as one who within a few months may be summoned by his Sovereign to reduce them to action. If, therefore, he shows more anxiety to announce the general principles which guide his policy than to describe the modes in which he would give effect to them—if, in regard to practical measures of legislation, he is somewhat reticent, and speaks with apparent indecision of purpose—we are bound to bear in mind that it hardly becomes a man in Mr. Gladstone's position to commit himself to details which he may have hereafter to submit to a Cabinet Council. From a lesser man, somewhat more precision of statement on some points might have been properly demanded—from him we must be content to receive such only as will serve to illustrate the general character and bearing of his policy.

On the question of National Education, we are not quite sure that Mr. Gladstone will satisfy the expectations, certainly not the wishes, of a large number of his followers. As a statesman, he recognises, as he is bound to do, the difficulty and impolicy of "sweeping away at a stroke that vast mass of educational organisation which, not only the general benevolence, but the Christian benevolence of the country in particular, has put in action." He evidently inclines to proceed on the basis of Mr. Bruce's Bill, which embodies substantially the denominational system, although in a modified and liberal form, and which will enable those who prefer exclusively secular schools to obtain public money in aid of their efforts. But he insists upon what he calls "a double liberty"—"the perfect liberty of unimpaired religious teaching on the one side, and a perfect liberty of withdrawal to those who do not belong to a religious community on the other." Mr. Gladstone is silent on the course he

would adopt in reference to the higher educational institutions of the country—namely, the national Universities, and it is impossible to forget that hitherto he has not been at one with his party on this subject. Possibly he may be revising his old opinions, or may have failed to make up his mind how far he will find it imperative on his conscience to retain them. But the sanction which he gives to the creation of a Roman Catholic University for Ireland, and his implied desire to leave Trinity College, Dublin, in the exclusive possession of the Established Church, excite our fears that Mr. Gladstone has not yet succeeded in throwing off the fetters which a bad training in reference to *quasi*-ecclesiastical matters has imposed upon his otherwise manly intellect. On such questions, however, his party will be more powerful to shape his final determination than he will be to influence theirs.

On the Irish Church question, Mr. Gladstone speaks enigmatically. In principle, he is for yielding to Ireland the full advantage of religious equality. He believes, and distinctly proclaims his belief, that "nothing ever was or will be hostile to religion which is agreeable to justice." He refers to the mode in which we dealt with Scotland at the period of the Union, and he evidently thinks that it would have been well for Ireland if the great majority of her people had been possessed of a National Church in harmony with their faith. He goes a step farther. "Now, gentlemen," he says, "I must express to you my firm conviction that principles of religion must be established in Ireland, and that it is vain to look to a true union and harmony between that country and this, until the legislature of this country shall have made up its mind to govern and to attain that great consummation." How is this passage to be interpreted? It certainly wears to our apprehension an ominous aspect. It looks very much like a declaration against impartial disendowment, and in favour of indiscriminate endowment. The context, too, almost forces that interpretation upon us—notwithstanding the right hon. gentleman's subsequent concession, that "as to the modes of giving effect to this principle, he is of opinion that they should be dictated, as a general rule, by that which may appear to be the mature, well-considered, and general sense of the Irish people." We will not critically weigh the Liberal leader's language—it is intelligible in another sense than that we have assigned to it. But if we have not mistaken the drift of his remarks, we have this consolation in store for us—that Mr. Gladstone, great, and deservedly great, as may be the confidence reposed in him by the British people, will not persuade them to accept his prescription for the cure of religious inequality in Ireland, whilst there remains another much simpler, much easier, much more righteous, and much better adapted to the temper of the times, open to their adoption. It would be an infinite pity for him to breast a current which must overwhelm him.

Mr. Gladstone speaks vaguely, but in the right vein, on the question of the tenure of land in Ireland, and deals with English social problems in a thoughtful, temperate, and generous spirit. Between capital and labour, it is clear that he is anxious to hold the balance fairly. He is shy of the ballot, but has cautiously refrained from pledging his opposition to it. His heart is set upon political progress. He will hear no excuses for standing still. Doubtless, he evinces some natural impatience under the wrongs inflicted upon him and upon his party in 1866, but he is ready for the coming campaign, and will do his best to perfect the constitutional change inaugurated last Session. We shall watch his course with eagerest interest. We shall gladly lend him such support as we are able, but we must candidly forewarn him that should he attempt to give a new lease of existence to a principle which is already decaying, "and is ready to vanish away," whether the attempt have reference to Ireland or to Great Britain, he will find the set of events too strong for him, and he will convert more than half his most attached friends into his most active opponents.

ANTI-FENIANISM.

THERE is no small danger lest the strong feeling of abhorrence which the Clerkenwell outrage has excited in the public mind should carry the subjects of it within the precincts of folly, not to say of injustice. Men never need to maintain a more vigilant watch over themselves than when they are convinced, and justly convinced, that "they do well to be angry." Two or three cautions have acquired unusual importance during the last week, especially because an atrocious offence against society, such as that which has lately startled most of us out of our self-possession, is very apt to destroy for a time the natural equipoise of common sense, and to impart a *vis momentum* towards severity, which may inflict much undeserved as well as unnecessary suffering.

In the first place, we must beware of confounding Fenianism with what, for want of a better word, we shall call Irishism. We can hardly imagine a more trying position than that in which many thousands of the Irish people in this country (as peaceful in their purposes and as guiltless of sympathising with crime as any Englishman can be), have been placed by the atrocious wickedness of some handful of their fellow Celts. Hitherto, Fenianism has been powerless to infect Anglo-Saxons, as they are wont to describe themselves, and seems to require Milesian blood in order to develope the active principle of its destructive virus. But because there seems reason to think that the disease can only take effect upon Irishmen, we are not warranted in inferring that all Irishmen are susceptible to its baleful influence. Yet this is what we are very liable to do. Unless we moderate our excess of indignation, there is room to fear that we may inconsiderately visit upon the natives of Ireland resident in our midst, a part of the penalty which is exclusively due to a few miscreants whom they as heartily detest as we can do. The evidence taken before the police-magistrate goes to indicate that, whether under the direction of some person or persons of higher status or not, the plot to blow down the wall of the Clerkenwell House of Detention was concocted and executed by a very small knot of obscure men, who cannot be fairly taken to represent the average intelligence or good feeling of the great mass of Irish people even in the metropolis. They are all of them in danger, however, of coming under a cloud of unreasonable suspicion, and should there be anything resembling a repetition of the recent outrage, might be exposed to the most serious hardship. It is vain to urge this consideration on the notice of Fenian conspirators; but it may be well that each one of us should in his sphere of influence discourage as much as possible this obvious tendency towards injustice. Let the guilty suffer, by all means, what their crimes deserve—but let us be especially careful at this time of excited feeling, that we do not confound the guilty with the innocent, or sanction any course whereby men may be exposed to punishment, not for any evil they have done, but on account of the race to which they belong.

Then, again, it behoves us to see to it that the redress of real evils be not postponed, under cover of zealous watchfulness against political disaffection. It may be, though we are disposed to doubt it, that her Majesty's Government have been made cognisant of a state of things relating to Fenianism in this kingdom which is fraught with danger to the community. But no peril ought to be an excuse for the continuance of admitted injustice. The public safety, if it be menaced, must at all hazards be preserved—but this may be done, and yet the redress of grievances need not be left undone. We must keep the Legislature up to the mark in ameliorating the ill condition of any portion of the Queen's subjects, as earnestly and perseveringly as we aid the Government in the vindication of law and the maintenance of order.

It may not be out of place, moreover, to hint that it is just possible for authority to take advantage of our present apprehensions for the purpose of increasing its own power beyond the necessity of the case. We hear that a thousand additional men are to be united to the police force of the metropolis, and that a militia of special constables is to be organised in connection with them. This may be a necessary and wise measure, for aught we know, and may have been desirable quite irrespective of Fenian alarms. But we trust the public will not put in abeyance its own vigilance and good sense. Precautionary measures may easily be overdone in times of feverish excitement, and however useful they may prove for the immediate occasion, unfortunately the burden of them seldom passes away with it. We mean no reflection upon the present Government—we cast no imputation upon their motives. Our remarks apply to all Governments as such, and we wish to remind the public of what it is prone enough to forget, that one of the surest evils of panic is that it offers unusual facilities to the official class to enlarge their establishments beyond what the wants of the community require. The old advice is at such times full of pertinence—

> "Wear your eye thus—
> Not jealous, nor secure."

ARBITRATION *v.* STRIKES.

AT a time when we are perforce familiar with so many "dark spots," not merely on the surface, but in the framework of society—when the hideous development of Fenianism warns us that Ireland is not yet reconciled to British rule, and trade outrages that the labour problem is as yet unsolved amongst us,—it is encouraging to see many indications of the approach of a better era of equitable legislation and of social reform. Those persons who are fearful that amid the rivalry, often breaking out into open war, of capital and labour, British industry will suffer an eclipse, may profitably ponder Mr. Gladstone's encouraging survey of the labour question in his speech at Oldham. The increasing use of machinery, says this philosophic statesman, is superseding the coarse and servile toil of the world, and affording new openings for skilled labour; and trades unions, whatever their defects and abuses, are helping to develope the mutual responsibilities of working men, and to stimulate by their action the energies of employers, and the discovery of new appliances in industrial enterprise.

Mr. Mundella, of Nottingham, once an operative, now the chief member of a firm employing from three to four thousand workmen, has lately been illustrating another phase of the labour problem in a more practical shape before a London audience. That gentleman, last week, delivered a lecture at St. James's Hall, under the auspices of the Reform League, Mr. Morley presiding, on the substitution of Arbitration for Strikes in cases where differences arise between employed and their workmen. The remedy he proposes is not a new one. It has been recommended in some form or other ever since the warfare between capital and labour assumed a chronic form in civilised communities. In France, ever since 1830, councils of conciliation to settle the differences between employers and employed have been in operation under legal sanction, and have exercised a most beneficial influence. But they have this material defect—while they help to settle, they do not prevent, trade disputes. On the same principle is Lord St. Leonard's Act of last Session to establish equitable councils of conciliation, but this measure does not interfere with the rate of wages—the prime source of contention. In the town of Nottingham, however, a plan has been for many years in operation which, without an Act of Parliament, and simply by means of a good understanding between both parties, has been found to subserve alike the interests of employer and employed, to remedy the defects of both French and English legislation on the subject, and absolutely to prevent strikes and lock-outs.

This remarkable organisation was formed in 1860 to put an end to the costly and ruinous conflicts between capital and labour which had been rife from time immemorial in the Nottingham hosiery trade. It consists of a board of eighteen members, chosen annually, one half of whom are selected by the masters, and the other half by the operatives. The president is chosen out of the employers—though there is no absolute rule to that effect—and the vice-president from the employed. The specific object of the board is to arbitrate on every question relating to wages that may be referred to it by masters and operatives, and to put an end to any dispute that may arise—the investigation of each case being undertaken by a committee of four, who are not, however, authorised to make any award. The workmen in the hosiery trade are paid by the piece; and, by mutual bargaining among the members of the Board, the labour price list is from time to time settled, and is regarded on both sides as mutually binding. To prevent hasty decisions, a month's notice is given before any change in the current rate of wages is to be discussed. Occasionally the decisions of the board are evaded, but sooner or later all dissentients are obliged to accept them. One shilling a year from each member suffices to pay all the expenses of this effective system of arbitration.

From the lecture of Mr. Mundella, and from the last year's report of the board, we gather some of the results of the six years' experience of the council of conciliation at Nottingham. "During the past two years," it is stated in the report, "the demand for hosiery has been, in several branches, of an exceptional character, and labour in some departments, unusually scarce; and notwithstanding the workmen have preserved their trades' unions by having a central authority to appeal to, composed equally of employers and employed, all questions calculated to produce irritation and lead to disputes have been promptly settled; all inequalities in the rates of wages have been adjusted, the manufacturer has been enabled to accept his contracts without apprehension and execute them without delay, and the rights of workmen have been jealously looked after and strictly preserved. Whereas, in neighbouring counties and throughout the country a chronic warfare

has existed betwixt labour and capital, to the great injury of both, owing to the want of some court of appeal commanding alike the confidence of employers and employed. It is with much satisfaction that the board is able to report that at no previous period in the history of the hosiery trade has there existed such a cordial understanding betwixt employer and employed as at the opening of the present year, and the board trusts that this may long continue, believing that it is calculated to advance the interests of the trade, to improve the condition of the workmen, and to further the progress and well-being of the community." This effective organisation for reconciling the interests of employer and employed has, notwithstanding occasional difficulties, gradually and steadily increased in strength, and the whole of the hosiery trade of the Midland counties is now favourable to it. Mr. Mundella has explained the plan at Sheffield, and it is expected that a similar board of arbitration will be established in connection with the file-trade of that town, and thus prevent the recurrence of those bitter differences which have of late years produced such deplorable results.

There does not seem to be any good reason why the plan which for six years has so admirably answered in Nottingham in preventing industrial conflicts, and in inducing capital and labour to shake hands, should not, with necessary variations, succeed elsewhere. The great thing has been to prove that the interests of employer and employed are identical, and the experience of the Nottingham board demonstrates that while the masters can push their trade to the utmost, their workmen may preserve their trades-unions without detriment to any one. As Mr. Mundella says, it is not likely that all the masters and all the operatives will at once free themselves from all the follies and prejudices of the past, but that is no reason why they should not, as much as possible, narrow the area of strife. We trust that that gentleman's lecture will be published and widely circulated. Should he, and those with whom he is associated, succeed in inducing the country generally to accept the scheme, they will have helped to solve a problem which has been the despair of statesmen and the great difficulty of legislation, and will have well earned the distinction of being classed among the foremost benefactors of the age.

We have great hope that if, by the establishment of courts of arbitration, strikes should become but a memorial of past follies, it will be but a stepping-stone to further social reforms. By-and-bye, when the question comes to be discussed in a pacific atmosphere, it will be discovered that partnerships of industry are as much adapted to promote the interests of masters as of men—in agriculture as well as in manufactures. The example of the Methley collieries, to which we have more than once called attention, will be as persuasive as the successful experiment at Nottingham. In due time there is reason to hope that courts of arbitration, partnerships of industry, and the co-operative system combined, will redress the most grievous social evils of this country, uphold our supremacy in the markets of the world, and far more effectually than legislative enactments, promote the gradual elevation of all our wage-receiving classes.

"TOWARD EVENING!"

IT is a good and wise custom that prevails among some nations—and, to narrow our remarks somewhat, among many families—to note by special, albeit solemn, rejoicing, the recurrence of certain high-days and festivals. Our birthdays, for instance. We can all, probably, remember the time when the dawn of that day, which was literally only "once a year," awoke us from slumber at a most unwonted hour, and the delights which for weeks had been eagerly anticipated seemed, now that they were just within our ready grasp, to thrill us with a sort of nervous pain rather than pleasure. And the day wore on, as all days must do; dawn deepened into morning—morning was lost in the blaze of noon—while noon, again, gave place to the soberer glory of eventide. The day of high hopes was just over; we came down from our little pinnacle of short-lived importance, to be for all the rest of the year on a par with our fellows; and probably there was some lurking thought in our breast that the promised delights had been but scantily realised,—our *jubilate* of the morning had ended in something closer akin to a *miserere* at night.

Not otherwise is it, possibly, with many as they come to the nightfall of this year. Our Januarys are very full of bright hopes,—it seems for awhile as if all that crossed or stung us must be buried in the grave of the old year, and it is only by slow degrees, as the month moves on, that we awake to the fact of having laid only shadows to their sleep, and of bearing about with us the burdens of substance still. Our evensong when December comes is ever apt to be in a minor key. The "thing which hath been" is more present than that which shall be, and it is seldom so entirely satisfactory in the retrospect as to leave us much room for jubilant hallelujahs. It was a pretty conceit of the old, old days, that the swan sang its evensong in its sweetest strains, and died out in the utterance of melodious sounds such as had never graced its life. But as the author of a child's book makes one of the little actors say, when reprimanded for its lack of heartiness, or perhaps heartfulness, and bidden to take the carolling of the birds as an example of joyousness, "The birdie has neither yesterday nor to-morrow, and I have both!"

Probably there is no time when we are so impelled to thoughtfulness as in the closing hours of an old year; those of us, at least, whose idea of life is not simply comprised in what can be touched, tasted, or handled. The close of anything is, we are inclined to believe, a stronger appeal to our motives than the commencement. The close of a book—except it be a three-volume after-dinner-refreshment novel—makes us feel rather as if we had parted from the living presence of some one whom we have learned to love. The close of a journey is scarcely a relief when the faces we expect to greet us upon the platform, at whose side our train is even now slackening speed, are those of the almost unknown and wholly untried. The close of a summer vacation over one "rest-day" for the whole long year, oh! yes! we know the feeling of that but too well! The common round looking more matter of fact than even by contrast with our few weeks of freedom from the mill-wheel; the trivial task looming up with the sombre distinctness of a reality, which had been blessedly forgotten in the land of Beulah and on the Celestial Mountains—the clear conviction, as a friend of our own always expresses it, "that the trip is over"—a thing to be laid by, like best clothes, in a drawer, and taken out, like them, on rare and special occasions, albeit always with the remembrance that they *are* there if wanted—we understand all that well enough. Of the close of a life, let those of us speak who have known what it is to watch the faint breath parting the cold lips at longer and yet longer intervals, and have had to mark the gradual glazing of an eye, the lack of whose loving look will well-nigh make the whole world dark and cold. About the close of our Decembers even, though the roll of many years may tend to weaken the impression, there gathers a subdued and tender shade. New years do not promise such great things as they were wont to do, and the departing hours seem only to tell us how much of our life already lies behind. We do not at this moment remember to what author we are indebted for the comparison of our lives to a week, each ten years being represented by a day, so that the Saturday night would land us at the limit of the threescore years and ten—"the days of our years," as the Psalmist calls it. Perhaps that very expression of Moses' originally suggested the comparison. But much beautiful truth lies in the thought. Our first decade is somewhat like our Sunday, with the exception that we have no toil to look back upon, but in the full enjoyment of rest as a preparative for coming labour, and an ingathering of strength for future ends, the simile will hold good. Our Mondays and Tuesdays, with their work apportioned for each day which must be done, although there is behind it all a lurking comfortable sense of many many hours still before us, so that even if there should be some gathering arrears, a little push at the last will suffice to make our week and our work close pleasantly together. Have we not in our twenties and thirties something akin to that experience in our lives? We talk grandly enough, perhaps, of leaving "footprints on the sands of time," being just at the age when it is more pleasant to fill note-books with scraps of poetry than to fill hours with living deeds, and there it secretly ends. The brevity of life is a fit theme for the parson's pulpit, or the twopenny tract; but for ourselves, any insurance company would take us at a low premium as a very healthy life, and there will be plenty of time for us to leave our work upon the world, a good, broad, unmistakeable one, too, before we go hence! And just as in the week, when Wednesday breaks, it flashes on us that there is much to be got through, and we give utterance to the common remark of many unmethodical people, that the days run by so fast that they cannot do half of the many things they intended, so we wake up as the middle age *forties* dawn on us, and rub our eyes and wonder! A birthday now is simply a reminder, stern, emphatic, and not to be gainsaid, of what lies behind; congratulations are cruelly out of place, and a far-off echo of Tennyson's "Too late, too late," as the refrain of other songs, whose singers are already passed beyond our gaze, is dimly and unwelcomely heard. Our Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays—what shall we say about them? Can we help comparing the bustle of some disorderly householders on Saturday night with the end of some people's lives? Our readers may chance to have been an unwilling guest in some such ménage—where everything necessary for Sunday's comfort appeared to have been forgotten—when, in the endeavour to repair the manifold overlookings, temper and strength gave way together, and the candle went out amid an all-pervading sense of oppression and irritation and mismanagement, which the sleep must be sound indeed that had power wholly to dispel. But such an ending to life! We may have witnessed such! When there seemed to gather round the dying pillow, the shadowy forms of the "to-morrows" and the "more convenient seasons," the lazy lingering expectation of whose better things had left the actual life one consistent blank. Could any ministering spirit have power to extract the bitterness from such a reverie of "life's fitful fever"? or could any hand sweep a tuneful even-song from the strings of a harp timed to such wailings as these? May God keep us from such a sinking to our last long sleep on the Saturday night of our life!—that will be our best and kindest wish for our readers as this old year dies away in the darkness.

We may not forget that for this year it does so happen that our farewell to our readers will mingle like a sad monotone with the sweet and ever welcome music of Christmas chimes. We delight to think of the feuds which the kindly feeling and warm hospitality of that annual festival consign to a grave—"full five fathom deep" at least let us hope, never, never to know of a resurrection. It gladdens us to believe that even workhouses and lunatic asylums are redolent with the strange sweetness of extra tobacco and good plum-pudding; while it adds zest to our own table fare if we can reckon up some poor yet worthy ones of the Bob Crotchit class, to whose unusual festivities we have had the pleasure of contributing. The joy of Christmas has frequently reminded us of the old simile of the taper flickering in its socket. The dying hours of the year follow so hard upon its merriment, and we need the angel's song with its peaceful promise of the future to cheer us as the winter winds wail out their requiem over the dying year.

> Still through the cloven skies they come,
> With peaceful wings unfurled;
> And still their heavenly music floats
> O'er all the weary world!
> Above its sad and lowly plains
> They bend on heavenly wing;
> And ever o'er its Babel sounds
> The blessed angels sing.

At the close of a harassing day we can well understand the refreshment, not to a worn-out body merely, but to an unstrung soul and spirit, which is conveyed by such a quiet time as that expressed in the words, "Isaac went out to meditate in the field at eventide." We are glad of all anniversaries, tear-bedewed as many of them come to be after the lapse of, perchance, only a few, because of the thoughts they fling in upon our minds. We rejoice in the message of peace and good-will which every Christmas time recalls, and which always seems, to our fancy, to be smiling at us, bright and green, in every leaf of holly and bough of laurel wherewith we ornament our homes. And when the old year is dying, dying, dying, we are thankful for the universal holiday-keeping, which at least secures to all who are so minded as to take it, intervals of leisure which will not be unprofitably spent in a glance of retrospect. Where did the year find us at its birth? where is it leaving us at its death? We have often felt, whenever the fact of death occurs, that those who are left behind are those who should be pitied and called "poor"; as a sense of the first time perceived to be the very reverse of the things that are pure and just and true and lovely, is apt to press crushingly upon the survivor. Is it not so now? and is it not one of the many kind and good providences of God that we are thus ever and anon brought up and made to weigh ourselves and our doings in a juster balance, and with a more strict and wise discrimination than is usually our habit?

"To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin," which sentence, we take it, settles sharply and decisively the worth and the worthlessness of the so-called good intentions which some people are in the habit of parading as apologies for the absence of good deeds. But it is far easier to make moral reflections than it is to set to work in good earnest to bring about moral reformations, in ourselves especially. We are in danger of senti-

mentally adverting to the closing year, of grouping together in one well-rounded, generic sentence our regrets that the past was what it was, and our hope that the future will witness better things, though in what particular or by what power it is to be made different remains a problem still unsolved. Mercies are acknowledged, as the child said, "all in a heap," until we form no very distinct idea for what we ought to be thankful; while, in consequence, our thanksgivings for blessings manifold have hardly life or vigour sufficient to bear them up to the gate of Heaven. But as our words meet your eyes, kind readers, for the last time during 1867, we shall each do well to remember that "it is toward evening." We have worshipped over and over again in England's ancient, glorious abbey, and as the twilight deepened round us, we have deemed that it was something better than chance which appointed as part of the choral vesper service the outburst, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour," and still more appropriately, at a further stage, do the words rise up, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace," about which Bacon wrote, "Above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is *Nunc dimittis*, when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations." Yes, beyond doubt, that is the best and sweetest evensong, whether for a day, for a year, or for a lifetime, involving, as it must do if it rise truly from the heart, a review of labour hallowed by the strength through which alone it was wrought out—weakness turned into power—temptations changed into triumphs—sorrows made the handmaids of the purest joys, and even the darkness becoming light about us. If such be our retrospect, we can indeed bid the old year a calm farewell.

Foreign and Colonial.

FRANCE.

The French Legislative Chamber has been busy for several days discussing the Army Reorganisation Bill. M. Jules Simon opened the debate in an able speech against the scheme. He said that notwithstanding the concessions which had been made it was intended to have a standing army of 800,000 men, and the 400,000 or 450,000 mobile national guards would bring up the figure to that enormous one of 1,200,000, the idea of which so startled the public a year ago. The recruit was cut off from civil life for nine and a-half years. He had very little confidence in the promise of the committee that the reserve would not be liable to drill and reviews. The bill did not say so. Moreover, he, though not a military man, did not shrink from saying that a reserve to be reliable ought to be drilled and reviewed occasionally. They were asked to console themselves by the reflection that the reserve could only be called out for active service by a decree of the Emperor in "time of war." But who should say what was meant by time of war? There had been the Crimean war, the Italian war, the Mexican war, the Cochin China war, and within the last few weeks the little war under the walls of Rome. Was the presence of a single division at Civita Vecchia such a state of war as would empower the Emperor to call out the reserve? Who could say? There was nothing in the bill to show that the power was only to be exercised in case of war with a great state possessing a numerous army. This was a very serious question for masters and workmen. As matters stood they would never know what was a state of war, and what was not. He showed that the bill would agravate the immorality of the population. The condition of illegitimate children was so terrible that the mortality among them was devastating. In the department of the Loire Inférieure the mortality among natural children was ninety per cent., in the Eure-et-Loire it was ninety-five per cent. These hecatombs would be greatly increased even by the additional six months' prohibition of marriage, which was a hotly debated question between the Government and the committee. In England the population doubled in fifty years. The report of the committee stated that it took 150 years to double the population in France. His own calculation was 122 years; but even so the difference was enormous. By taking too many men they would seriously diminish the class from which men could be drawn, and weaken the country to an extent far greater than could be done by the loss of any battle. It is said that the Government majority listens with more attention to the opposition speakers than to those who support the measure. No member of Government has yet spoken, but Count de la Tour, M. de Beauverger, and M. Liégard, who answered M. Jules Simon, and M. Latour Du Moulon, were terribly interrupted by private conversation. Even they made several reserves in their approbation of the bill. M. Maurice Richard and M. Magnin, the member for Dijon—both rising members of the opposition—made very striking observations upon the fearful power of the Emperor to call out an immense force, and to make war without consulting the country till the mischief is irreparable. The latter said that the proposed plan was detrimental to the development of the people, it would alarm Europe, and it would retard commerce. A general armament could alone guarantee the security of the territory.

On Saturday M. Picard declared that the bill was intended to serve a clandestine policy, which would only be revealed at the moment of its being carried into execution, while the country wished for a policy it could clearly understand. M. Rouher, in reply to a demand for explanations made by M. Jules Favre, protested in the most absolute manner against all interpretations tending to show that the bill constituted any preparations for a more or less distant war, and asserted that the measure only provided for the maintenance of the interests and independence of the country. This explanation was considered as satisfactory by the house, and, notwithstanding the opposition of M. Favre, the general debate was declared to be closed.

A paragraph in the French papers asserts that two Prussian ships lately arrived at Genoa with 45,000 needle-guns, manufactured in Prussia for the Italian Government.

The *France* says that direct negotiations are being carried on between the French and Italian Governments with a view to an arrangement destined to replace the Convention of the 15th September. The other Powers will be kept informed of the progress of the negotiations, that they may subsequently give in their adhesion.

It is stated by the Paris papers that a more intimate understanding has been established between Russia and Italy.

ITALY.

In the debate in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, General Menabrea made a speech of the 17th, and continued it on the 18th. In the course of it he said that the September Convention still existed in form, though it could not be said to exist so long as the Pontifical territory was occupied by France. "One contracting Power has not maintained its engagements. We are also in the same case, since we have suspended payment of our quota of the Pontifical debt. As to what we shall do with the Convention, we shall act as may be in our interest, but first of all the object of the Government is to obtain that the French troops leave the Roman territory. Afterwards we can consider further." The Minister eulogised the moderation and dignity with which Parliament had received the recent declarations of M. Rouher.

"The friendship of France and Italy," he said, "is not diminished thereby, because Italy does not forget the past great services of France. Respecting our attitude relative to the Conference after those declarations, pending negotiations compel me to maintain reserve; but I may say that France has not yet relinquished the hope of realising her proposal."

Relative to the question of Rome, General Menabrea alluded to the declaration of Signor Crispi that Rome was not necessary to Italy,

"We are of a similar opinion," said the Minister, "but we none the less believe it necessary tenaciously to affirm our right to Rome. Rome as a question of expediency is the crowning of the national edifice, and only to be obtained by moral means. The Papacy is a power not only in Italy but in Europe, and cannot be opposed by violence. Italy must give absolute guarantees to Europe for the respect of religious principle, and with a regular Government, strong in the prestige and vigour of liberty, Rome will come to us."

General Menabrea deprecated the exclusive part in the Italian national movement claimed by some speakers of the Left for the volunteers and the party of action. This party must not forget that the first efficient steps for the realisation of Italian unity were taken by the King, sword in hand. The party of action cannot succeed unless it should be strengthened by the countenance of the throne. Garibaldi's recent failure, despite his great popularity, was a proof of this.

"The country," continued the Minister, "now stands in need of order and tranquillity at home and confidence abroad. The programme of the Government does not deviate from the national aspirations and the right of Italy. There are but two parties—one for order and respect of the law, the other for violence and agitation. The country must choose between them definitively. We desire no repressive measures, but shall exercise the law against license and abuse. We now ask for a clear, frank, and explicit vote of the Chamber affirming the necessity of order at home, the maintenance of our dynasty abroad, and a complete explicit approval of our conduct."

Signor Ratazzi accused the Ministry of only having published such documents upon late events as placed the policy of the Ratazzi Cabinet in an unfavourable light. He requested General Menabrea to lay on the table all documents which concerned the events of the last few months of the Ratazzi administration. He was equally grieved and astonished at the justification by the Minister and his friends of the French intervention without a word of protest. The late Government had strugled to the last against the Garibaldian movement, and employed all possible means to prevent it. It believed the movement inopportune, and not calculated to attain its object, besides prejudicing the sale of the ecclesiastical property. Relative to the means of going to Rome, he would meet Signor Menabrea's general question by an equally general reply.

"I wished," said the speaker, "to go to Rome by means permitted by our right, without compromising order at home or our foreign relations. I believe that moral means are useful as preparatory to a great act, but it is vain to hope to obtain a final result from them. We must be prompt to take an opportune moment. Order and financial prosperity are not sufficient to bring us to Rome. I do not feel bound to specify what moments or circumstances I should consider propitious." The reason of his resignation, he said, was his inability to pursue the line of policy which he considered necessary to maintain the national dignity. He would not alone assume the responsibility of advising the King to send the Italian army to Rome. The King consulted others, who opposed his views. If the recent declarations made in the French Legislature really represent the views of the Emperor, he (Signor Ratazzi) considered that the national dignity required the recall of the Italian ambassador; but he did not believe such to be the Emperor's views, and he had faith in the ultimate triumph of Liberal ideas in the French policy towards Italy.

General Menabrea was surprised at the attacks of Ratazzi, whose administration he had endeavoured to protect. He withheld certain documents out of consideration for Ratazzi, but was now compelled to lay them before the Chamber. He quoted the report of the committee of inquiry declaring the measures taken to prevent Garibaldi's escape from Caprera in October last illusory and useless. Signor Mari demonstrated the responsibility of Ratazzi in failing to arrest Garibaldi after his escape, and not closing the committees. Signor Gualterio, the Minister of the Interior, repelled the accusations of having been actuated by a repressive and arbitrary policy. A long and excited debate ensued upon the propriety of publishing the documents submitted by General Menabrea, at the close of which the Chamber passed to the order of the day. The documents will therefore be published.

On Saturday Signor Bonfandini proposed an order of the day affirming Rome to be the capital of Italy, deprecating the attainment of that object by illegal means, and approving the conduct of the Ministry. General Menabrea accepted this order. The result of the vote was 199 in favour of the motion and 201 against it, defeating the Ministry by a majority of two.

The Chamber has voted the provisional exercise of the Budget till January 31st, and has adopted the order of the day, proposed by Signor Valerio, for the suspension of the payment of the Italian portion of the Pontifical debt. General Menabrea declared that he accepted the order of the day, but without further prejudice to the question which now forms the subject of diplomatic negotiations. The Government reserved to itself full liberty of action.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies, at one of its last sittings, voted 6,620,000fr. for the conversion into needle-guns of the present muskets.

ROME.

The text of the allocution pronounced by the Pope at the consistory on the 20th is published. His Holiness speaks of Divine assistance as tempering his sorrows, and then refers to the debates in the French Chambers, to the fidelity of the Roman people, and of his troops, and to the assistance rendered by the army and Emperor of noble and generous France. He concludes by pronouncing his benediction.

AUSTRIA.

Count Stackelburg, the Prussian Minister, has left Vienna on a month's leave of absence. It is denied that Russian troops are being concentrated on the Gallician frontier.

The formation of the new Ministry is slowly proceeding. In conformity with the new constitution, the President of the Lower House of the Reichsrath has been re-elected. The bills for the provisional levy of taxes till January 4, have passed both Houses, which have also elected members for the delegation.

General Cialdini will shortly arrive at Vienna as ambassador for Italy.

The Upper House of the Hungarian Diet has been recently engaged in considering the bill fixing the quota for the year to be contributed by Hungary towards the expenditure of the Empire. The Lower House has unanimously passed the Jews' Emancipation Bill.

The result of the elections to the Croatian Diet shows a majority of two-thirds in favour of union with Hungary.

AMERICA.

The United States Congress has adjourned until the 6th of January, without taking any further action on the cotton-tax.

In the Senate on the 10th, Mr. Chandler made a long speech in favour of the resolutions granting belligerent rights during the war with England, and strongly denounced the course pursued by the British Government during the late rebellion. He declared his belief that if the resolutions were passed ten to fifteen Abyssinian privateers would be afloat within a hundred days. Mr. Reverdy Johnson strongly opposed the resolution, as calculated to provoke a needless quarrel with Great Britain. A resolution was introduced, but laid over, proposing that in the new treaty with Canada the fisheries should be free to British and American subjects alike; also that Canada should cede British Columbia to the United States, who would pay 6,000,000 dollars for the Hudson's Bay territory. Mr. Sumner proposed a resolution, which the Senate adopted, requesting the President to furnish Congress with copies of all documents and correspondence relative to the Alabama claims.

Both Houses have passed bills enabling negroes to hold office and sit on juries in the district of Columbia.

General Grant has issued an order giving the military district commanders a suspensory order over the Freedmen's Bureaux.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

Advices from Caprera state that the health of General Garibaldi has much improved.

The King of Porto Nova (Western Africa), has expelled the Wesleyan missionaries.

The two Princesses d'Albe, nieces of the Empress, with many young ladies belonging to the most distinguished families in Paris, are following regularly

the classes of secondary instruction for girls at the Sorbonne.

The *Panama Star* states that the hurricane in the West Indies destroyed upwards of 700 lives and 8,000,000 dollars' worth of property.

Kertch is about to be fortified by the Russian Government so as almost to equal Sebastopol in strength.

BRIGAND MONKS.—A letter from the Roman frontier says—"The Carthusian convent of Trisulti has again become the head-quarters of brigandage; the monks prepare arms, munitions, and provisions, and the Pontifical authorities take no notice."

Garibaldi has by letter expressed his thanks to the citizens of Glasgow for the sympathy they have shown with the cause of the Italian nationality. The general strongly advocates peace upon the earth, but he contends that peace is incompatible with the existing state of affairs in the Papal States, and especially in Rome, which he regards as the rightful capital of Italy.

THE LAWS RELATING TO PROPERTY IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—By the last mail we learn that a bill assimilating the law as to the distribution of real estates of persons dying intestate to that for the distribution of personalty has passed through the House of Assembly and through committee in the Legislative Council.

THE CONCORDAT WITH AUSTRIA.—All idea of Rome renouncing the Concordat appears to be now abandoned by the Vienna Cabinet. Whatever Austrian legislation may have done to emancipate the people of the empire from the temporal influence of the Roman Church, as regards marriages and education, will be ignored by the Vatican.

THE MAYOR AND THE BISHOP.—The *Temps* relates the following:—"The successor of M. Grandperrett was being installed two days back as procureur-general of Orleans, and all the principal dignitaries of the department were present when the bishop of the diocese arrived. Everyone pressed around his grace to shake hands with him, and M. Vignat, mayor of the city, among the rest. 'But,' said Mgr. Dupanloup, 'in the terms on which we are, I do not know whether I can grasp the hand of the mayor of Orleans. However,' he added, if I cannot shake hands with the mayor, I can with M. Vignat.' 'Monsigneur,' replied the latter, 'M. Vignat is too much the friend of the Mayor of Orleans for the one to accept what is refused to the other,' and he turned his back on the bishop."

DISCOVERY OF LAND IN THE ARCTIC OCEAN.—The *Honolulu Advertiser* publishes an account of the discovery of land hitherto unknown in the Arctic Ocean by Captain Long, of the whaleship Nile. It is thought this territory will prove to be the Polar continent so long sought after. The past season has been the mildest which has been experienced by the oldest whalemen, and Captain Long was able to reach latitude 70·30. He examined the land attentively along its entire southern coast, which he sketched. It appears to be quite elevated, and has a mountain near the centre about longitude 180 re-resembling an extinct volcano, and estimated to be about three thousand feet high. Captain Long named the country Wongell's Land, after a Russian explorer. The western point of the coast, in lat. 70.46 north, long. 78.30 east, he named Cape Thomas, after the seaman who discovered it. The south-east point he called Cape Harvan. The Nile sailed several days along the coast, and approached within fifteen miles of the shore. The lower part of the land was free from snow, and appeared to be covered with vegetation. It was impossible to tell how far the land extended northward. Ranges of mountains could be seen until they were lost in the distance.

THE FENIANS.

MORE ARRESTS IN LONDON.

Two Fenians, of the name of English and Mullany, were arrested by the police about ten o'clock on Thursday night at the "Lion and French Horn" public-house, kept by Mrs. Cavanagh, in Pollen-street, near Hanover-square, not without some resistance, and were conveyed to the police-station, Marlborough-mews. Two others were also arrested—William Desmond, brother of the man already in custody, who was taken in Cross-street, Regent-street, about one a.m. on Friday morning, and O'Keefe, who was taken out of bed at Smith's-court, Great Windmill-street, about an hour later. They were brought up at Bow-street on Friday on a charge of treason-felony. Mr. Poland, instructed by the Solicitor to the Treasury, who conducted the prosecution on behalf of the Crown, said that he should only offer sufficient evidence to justify a remand. Sergeant Cole described the arrest of the prisoners. A man of the name of James Vaughan, a tailor, of Carnaby-street, Golden-square, was then produced. He said that he had known Timothy Desmond (arrested near the House of Detention) five years; William Desmond eighteen years; English four years; and O'Keefe about two years. He had been sworn a Fenian in 1865 by Timothy Desmond. He had met all the prisoners on different occasions at the public-house referred to, and narrated how, under pretence of helping to build a church in Ireland, they had a meeting at the Temperance Hall, next to the "Lion and French Horn," at which one Father O'Connor and about 150 persons were present. At the close of an address from Father O'Connor, he said, "You think Ireland is almost dead; but believe me she has got a kick left, and that kick will go through the belly of John Bull." This was received with much clapping and cheering. A collection was made. Had not seen Father O'Connor before or since. He believed every one present knew the object of the meeting; O'Keefe and English were at the door to "give the tip" in case any police-officer had presented himself for admission. Then they had raffle-cards which were sold for the benefit of the wives and families of the Manchester prisoners. Had since seen the various prisoners at a public-house. In reference to the outrage at Clerkenwell, the witness said, "Timothy Desmond whispered to me that the trick should be between half-past three and four, as Annie Justice, by going in with Casey's dinner, had found out the right time for the prisoners to exercise in the yard. He said, 'It must be done.' I said 'What?' He said, 'To blow up the House of Detention. When I am gone, Jemmy, I don't expect you will see me any more, or if you do it will be as a corpse. Or if I get off and am arrested, the next thing for me will be the gallows or Millbank. Keefe will do the trick with Bill Desmond, for Massey, Corydon, and Devany. Jem! good bye! pray for me when I am blasted into eternity!' He then squeezed my hand very hard and kissed me. He also told me not to give any money to his wife, but to give it to English, or if English did not come for it, I might pay it to his daughter, but to no one else. My wife was on the board with me, but she did not hear what he said to me, because it was all in a whisper. On Friday night English came to me and said, 'For God's sake, Jemmy, give me as much as you can, for I want all the money I can get to send some off to them.' I said, 'To whom? He said, 'What, have you not heard?' I replied, 'No.' He said, 'The House of Detention is blown ——— well bang up!'" Subsequently William Desmond said it served his brother right for being taken, he had no business to be there (Clerkenwell) at all. On another occasion when English was reading the placard of a newspaper, witness heard him say aloud:—"Diabolical! we will burn all London yet, and that will be more diabolical." On Sunday the four men and himself were outside of Cavanagh's, when Wm. Desmond said he was going to take a message to the Boss (the head centre) in Harper-street, Westminster, but the idea was given up, as they would be suspected. English (who was drunk) then said he should go over the next morning by six, and he then said, "The next thing we had better do is to settle Derby, Stanley, and Hardy; there would not be so much thought by the public of doing the trick for them as over the last affair." "We then left English standing in the street, and we went home. I left Desmond at his own door. It was about half-past eleven o'clock when we so parted. It was on last Sunday night. I had been at Cavanagh's at about ten o'clock that night. Mullany asked English to have some grog with him, calling him by the name 'Nick.' He afterwards handed the glass to Desmond, saying, 'Here, Hardy, drink.' Saw Sergeant Cole n Monday, and made a statement. Knew of the reward offered by the Government." The prisoners were remanded.

COMMITTAL OF THE PRISONERS.

The prisoners were again brought up at Bow-street on Monday. Mr. Giffard, on behalf of the Government, said that at the close he should again apply for a remand, and must be allowed to reserve his reasons. Sir T. Henry assented. The evidence of Vaughan having been read over, Mr. Louis Lewis proceeded to cross-examine him. The witness said, that up to the time of the reward, and after, he devoted his energies to Fenianism, and was cognisant of all that was to be attempted on the prison. Did not believe that it would have concluded in so much bloodshed, or would not have assisted in the conspiracy. Had been in the army. Refused to give the name of the regiment, on the ground that it would convict him as a deserter. He heard nothing about a barrel of gunpowder, and thought it was only the wall that was going to be blown up to assist the prisoners to escape. Heard that the House of Detention was to have been blown up, but did not know how. Did not then give information to the police. Till then thought no life would have been lost, and merely the wall bounding the yard of exercise would have been blown down, and Burke and Casey would have escaped. Did not know the House of Detention. Expect a portion of the reward if any of these men are convicted. Desmond asked the witness a great number of questions with such rapidity and vehemence that the witness could not find time to answer them. He called the witness a wretch, and said he could bring witnesses to prove his innocence. The witness was also cross-examined by English, and said he thought the prisoner was one of the chief Fenians. He was also questioned by O'Keefe as to how he had seen him with the other prisoners. O'Keefe's questions being at length exhausted, he said, "I can't think of anything else. He has made such a terrific long statement, you see." The further evidence given on this occasion was then read over, and the prisoners were remanded. O'Keefe here remarked that he had no opportunity of getting witnesses together for his defence. He was confined at Millbank, and had no access to his friends. Mr. Giffard said he proposed to charge William Desmond and English, conjointly with the other three previously in custody, with the wilful murder of the persons killed at the explosion in Clerkenwell. O'Keefe and Mullany were not included in this charge. The two last-mentioned prisoners were then removed, and the other three were brought in. English, the two Desmonds, Allen, and Anne Justice were then placed at the bar, and charged with wilful murder. The former evidence was read over, and Mr. M'Clean repeated the evidence which he had previously given at the inquest. There was some cross-examination, not of a very material character, and the prisoners were remanded. Mr. Charles Palmer, of Argyle-street, appeared as solicitor for Timothy Desmond, and cross-examined several of the witnesses at some length, but abstained from disclosing the substance of his defence, observing that he had not had a sufficient opportunity of consulting with his client.

Burke and Casey underwent another examination at Bow-street, on Saturday, before Sir Thomas Henry. Further evidence as to the purchase of arms by Burke for the Fenian rising was given, and of overt acts in Ireland. At the close they were remanded again. The police-van, on returning to the gaol with the prisoners, was guarded by a strong body of horse police armed with cutlasses and pistols, and passed through the streets at a very rapid pace. It is stated that Mr. J. B. Torr and Mr. W. P. M'Donald have been engaged as counsel for "Colonel" Burke and for Casey. It is also intended to retain Mr. Coleridge, Q.C., M.P., for these prisoners, or either of them who may be committed for trial. Since Dr. Kenealey withdrew from the defence he has received many threatening letters.

It was reported last week that Allen, one of the prisoners now in custody, had made a very important statement to the police. A statement he has made, but, it is said, cannot be relied upon, he having attempted by it to implicate persons who never had the remotest connection with Fenianism.

THE SUFFERERS AT CLERKENWELL.

Another victim has been added to the list of those who have lost their lives by the explosion on Friday week. Yesterday afternoon information was forwarded to Mr. William Payne, the City coroner, of the death of Mrs. Martha Evans, aged sixty-seven years, who expired last night in the Stanley Ward of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, from the effects of the severe injuries she had received. There was a deep cut at the back of the neck, and her head and face were terribly gashed. She was the wife of Mr. Humphrey Evans, a retired tradesman, living at 3A, Corporation-lane, a house that was blown down in consequence of the explosion, and he has also been injured to such a serious extent that his life is despaired of. On Thursday night a letter from the secretary of the Clerkenwell Explosion Relief Fund was received at the Royal Free Hospital, communicating, for the information of the "sufferers in the hospitals, that their homes will be restored to them, and that everything the committee can do to mitigate the suffering and losses caused by the explosion will be done." This intelligence, Dr. Marsden says, "has tended greatly to comfort the poor patients." The fund has reached between 3,000*l.* and 4,000*l.*

On Wednesday Dr. Jenner, Physician in Ordinary to her Majesty, forwarded to the Royal Free Hospital, Gray's-inn-road, by special command of the Queen, who is patroness of that hospital, a large quantity of hot-house grapes and other fruits for the use of the poor sufferers from the late explosion, and also expressed her desire to know how the sufferers were progressing. She has also supplied the children with toys. On Friday evening Prince Arthur visited the hospital, and was conducted by the treasurer (Mr. Foster White) to the bedsides of the patients, to each of whom his Royal Highness offered words of sympathy, and told them the Queen deeply commiserated their sufferings.

THE INQUEST.

The adjourned inquest on the victims of the explosion in Clerkenwell was resumed on Friday morning. Some striking evidence was given by the chief warder of the House of Detention. He said that about three-quarters of an hour before the explosion Allen was on the top of a neighbouring house; and that shortly before the occurrence attention was attracted to the presence at a window in Corporation-lane of a woman and several men. More important, as bearing upon the question raised by Lord Ranelagh on Thursday, was his statement that the authorities of the prison had received an intimation not only that there was to be an attack on the prison, but that an attempt would be made to effect a breach in the wall. The visiting justices were not called together, and, indeed, none of those gentlemen thought proper to attend the inquiry. Inspector Thompson let out that there had been something very like a squabble between the governor of the gaol and Sir Richard Mayne, the result being that while they were squabbling the prison was blown up. Sir Richard sent word to the governor that the prison wall was to be blown up, and gave advice as to what should be done with the prisoners. The governor replied that if Sir Richard would mind his own business, which was to watch over and protect the outside of the building, he would take care of the inside. The governor's good advice was not attended to, and the prison wall was blown down. The jury, after a short consultation, returned a verdict of wilful murder against the prisoners Allen, Desmond, and Justice, and the coroner's warrant for their committal on that charge was at once made out, and the witnesses bound over to appear and give evidence on the trial.

The Middlesex magistrates had a meeting on Thursday in reference to the attack on the House of Detention. A report was presented from the visiting justices, describing what had taken place, and praising the governor of the gaol for the measures he took to prevent the escape of prisoners. Subsequently there was a long and warm discussion. Lord Ranelagh insisted that if Sir Richard Mayne had done his duty as efficiently as the governor of the gaol had done his, the explosion would never have taken place. His lordship moved a resolution virtually censuring Sir Richard Mayne. Several of the magistrates opposed the motion on the ground that the conduct of the Commissioner of Police was not before them officially, and eventually a resolution expressing horror at the outrage was agreed to.

PRECAUTIONS AND PREPARATIONS IN LONDON.

It had been announced that two meetings would be held on Sunday, on Clerkenwell-green, to denounce the late explosion, and vindicate the Irish population of London. Mr. Finlen was to have presided over one, and a Mr. Campbell over the other. The fact that the meetings were announced was brought under the notice of the authorities, and instructions were given that the police should not allow them to be held. Accordingly, when Mr. Finlen appeared he was informed of the order which had been given, and he made no attempt to hold a meeting. The second affair was similarly prevented. Subsequently, it seems, Mr. Inspector Potter was sent to the Nag's Head Inn, Leather-lane, where the Holborn branch of the Reform League has held its meetings, and he informed the landlord that if further meetings were allowed in the house the fact would be brought under the notice of the licensing magistrates, who would refuse a licence to the house.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* states that the Metropolitan police-force will be immediately augmented by the addition of a thousand men to its numbers. It is calculated that this will afford to each man one day's rest out of the seven. We also believe it is in contemplation at once to enrol a militia of special constables, who can be called upon to act in cases of emergency, even in cases of great fires. There has been a curious diminution in the number of fires in London since the Clerkenwell explosion.

On Monday the Post Office was guarded, inside and out, by a company of *employés* of the department. This precaution, which was taken on information received by the authorities, will be continued for the present.

It is stated that the Government are now in possession of full information as to the Fenian organisation in England, and that further arrests will be made in a few days. The law officers of the Crown are stated to have advised the Government that the existing law is sufficient to meet the case; but the *Imperial Review*, a Conservative journal, says that in the event of any further occurrence calculated to alarm the public, Parliament will be immediately summoned for the purpose of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in England.

THREATENED OUTRAGES IN THE COUNTRY.

The document found at Wolverhampton is said to be authentic, and information is said to have been furnished confirmatory of a planned simultaneous Fenian attack on the militia armouries throughout England.

At Warrington, on Monday morning, four of the gasworks workmen were apprehended. They had pulled the plug out of the purifier near burning coke. Fortunately, the discovery was made before an explosion could take place. One of the prisoners is a well-known Fenian.

According to a telegram from Glasgow, 400 yards of blasting-rope have been found on Sunday night, in the ash-pit near the Cowcaddens gasometer—one of the largest in the city. "Blasting-rope" is powder hid or surrounded with gutta-percha, and is an explosive agent much used by miners for blasting purposes.

At Liverpool, during the past week, the arrivals of suspicious characters in the town have been above the average, but they are all kept under constant and careful surveillance.

An alarming report of an intention to raise fires prevailed in Bristol on Saturday. Precautionary measures were taken.

A telegram from Cork states that a Mr. John Hannon, residing near Rathcormac, who gave evidence on the trial of a Fenian head-centre, was fired at from a plantation when riding home in the evening. Though his hat was riddled with slugs, he received but a slight wound in the head.

Three vessels have left Portsmouth for the neighbourhood of the Lizards. A suspicious vessel, believed to be without national flag or papers, is reported to have been seen off the land westward.

At Plymouth precautionary measures have been taken against sunken torpedoes.

MISCELLANEOUS.

On Wednesday, in Dublin, Martin, Waters, and Lalor, the leaders of the Dublin funeral procession, were committed for trial at the next Commission, in February. They were admitted to bail in their own recognisances of £500 each. The prosecution is generally condemned as uncalled-for and ill-timed.

The Irish provincial "Fenian sympathy" papers, without an exception, ground articles more or less long and bitter, upon the supposed gift by the Prince of Wales, during the last few days, of 100*l.* towards a fund being raised for the Garibaldians "who blew up the Zouave barracks in Rome."

Requiem masses for the souls of Allen and the other two Manchester Fenians continue to be celebrated in various parishes in the West of Ireland. The most remarkable of these has been performed in the cathedral of Tuam, the archiepiscopal seat of Dr. M'Hale, the audience being mostly persons acquainted with the Celtic tongue only. Four clergymen were the celebrants, two being the President and one of the Professors of St. Jarlath College. Archbishop M'Hale "assisted in pontificals, and occupied the throne," and the President of St. Jarlath's addressed the congregation in Irish.

The inhabitants of the metropolis have responded eagerly to the call of the Government, and have in great numbers flocked to the different police-offices to be enrolled as special constables. Amongst those who present themselves are a great many working men. More than 10,000 special constables have been enrolled.

The *Weekly Register* believes it is in contemplation to have collections made in all the Catholic churches and chapels in the diocese of Westminster and of Southwark for the relief of the sufferers by the infamous outrage at Clerkenwell. The Sunday on which this collection will be made is not yet fixed.

Mr. W. Digby Seymour, who was counsel for the accused at the Manchester trials, writes to the *Times*:—"I think the time has arrived when it becomes the solemn and paramount duty of loyal Irishmen of all persuasions, in London and the Provinces, merging their individual differences, to declare by public meeting or formal address their unshaken devotion to the Throne and Constitution, and their unmitigated abhorrence of the Satanic atrocity which, perpetrated under the insulted name of Irish patriotism, has just sent a thrill of horror from one part of the kingdom to the other."

THE ABYSSINIAN EXPEDITION.

A Government despatch from Colonel Merewether, dated Senafe, December 7th, says:—"Advanced brigade all encamped now on a fine plain here. This body has come up from the coast without a hitch, proving that the British troops can enter Abyssinia with ease. Several more chiefs have come in to pay their respects. All well." Another despatch of the same date says that the march into Abyssinia will be easy, and that King Theodore having destroyed Debra Tabor by fire, was encamped in the neighbourhood, and intended marching to Magdala. The insurgents would resist his advance. The natives kill his stragglers. Menelek, from Shoa, was reported to have reached the neighbourhood of Magdala in force, and hoped to gain possession of it first. The Scinde brigade had arrived at Annesley Bay. The men were in good health. The latest dates from the captives are to October 28th. They were then all well.

A despatch from Aden, dated December 6th, says:—"General Stavely, with his staff, passed through on the 4th. Two French men-of-war have proceeded to the Abyssinian coast. The latest intelligence from Annesley Bay complains greatly of the want of water. The disease among the mules and horses continued to an alarming extent. The chief of Tigre was coming down with 6,000 men to watch the movements of the British."

A despatch from Bombay states that preparations for the despatch of the rest of the Abyssinian field force were being actively continued. The second brigade was ready to sail, but its departure was postponed in consequence, it is believed, of advices from Colonel Phayre. The Commissariat and Quartermaster-General's department were despatching almost daily transports with coals, stores, and coolies. Some 2,000 coolies were on their way to Zulla from Bengal, and upon their arrival the coolie force will number over 3,000. It has been determined to organise a coolie brigade, or army works corps.

ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION.—Christmas has again come round, and the directors of the above institution have produced a programme which may fairly be said to be worthy of the festive season. Last night a crowded audience assembled to hear a new lecture by Professor Pepper, entitled "Faraday's Discoveries and their Results." After paying a graceful tribute to the memory of that philosopher, and reading a poem which Mr. Leigh, of *Fun*, had written for the occasion, describing the nature and results of Faraday's investigations, Professor Pepper proceeded to glance at some of his most valuable contributions to scientific truth. He demonstrated how highly valuable the scientific inductions of Faraday had been as a basis for great practical results. This was illustrated by reference to the Atlantic cable, and in connection with this part of the subject some interesting experiments were made with "Wheatstone's Bridge," an electric machine, by means of which, in case a breakage should occur, could be ascertained at what part it took place. Some beautiful experiments were effected with Mr. Ladd's dynamo-magnetic-electro machine, by means of which a direct conversion of mechanical force into electricity is effected. Other interesting experiments followed, and the lecturer concluded by alluding to some of the "pretended manifestations from the spirit world," ridiculing the idea that they were effected by supernatural agency, and showing that, although not professing to hold intercourse with spirits, some singular illusions might be produced by purely scientific means, Professor Pepper and Mr. Thomas Tobin, who are the joint inventors, have introduced an entertainment in which the latter, at a wave from a supposed magician's wand which Mr. Pepper holds, rises in "mid air," and a table is made to follow him. The illusion was very successful, and was warmly applauded. Whilst thus endeavouring to cater to the intellectual enjoyments of their audience, the directors have not forgotten lighter amusements. Mr. Damer Cape has returned with an entirely original version of the old nursery ballad of the "Babes in the Wood." The story has been rewritten, and by throwing in caustic observations here and there, the lecturer contrives to point a moral as well as adorn the tale. Some parts of the story is musically rendered, and the scenery and *tableaux vivants* are tastefully conceived. Several other new features have been added, amongst which is a ventriloquial entertainment. Herr Neuff exhibits his "chained flea," and some interesting microscopic objects can now be seen. Some parts of the house have been redecorated, and the preparations warrant us in expecting a very successful season.

Court, Official, and Personal News.

Her Majesty and the Royal family are now at Osborne for the Christmas holidays, and on Sunday attended Divine service—the Rev. R. Duckworth officiating. Prince Arthur has arrived there from the Ranger's-house, Greenwich, to spend the holidays.

The Prince of Wales will come up to town from Sandringham during the week, for the express purpose of visiting the sufferers by the Clerkenwell explosion.

The Prince and Princess of Wales still remain at Sandringham, and will spend Christmas there. The improvement in the health of the Princess continues. Next week the Prince and Princess will visit Holkham Hall, and it is believed that several other Royal personages will be among the guests.

Prince and Princess Christian and Princess Henriette of Schleswig-Holstein have gone on a visit to Lord and Lady Cowley, as Draycott Park.

Sir Henry Storks has been appointed Comptroller-in-Chief at the War Office, with the position of an Under-Secretary of State. This appointment may perhaps be taken as one step towards a reform of the military administration of the country.

Mr. Gladstone has accepted an invitation to a banquet to be given by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce to himself, Lord Stanley, and other influential members of Parliament connected with the town and county.

The Senate of Dublin University have elected Lord Cairns Chancellor of the University.

The Rev. Dr. Macleod and the Rev. Dr. Watson, who have been appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to report on missions in India, have safely arrived at Bombay.

The postage to America is to be reduced to 6d. the half-ounce if prepaid, and rateably upwards, from the 1st of January next. Corresponding reductions will be made on letters passing through the United States to British colonies and other places.

THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.—Most of the wholesale houses of the City, and a large number of the leading retail firms in the principal thoroughfares, including the west-end, the City, the south and east of London, have already arranged to keep their premises closed on the 26th instant—Boxing-day; and the same arrangement, it appears, has gained general acceptance throughout the provinces.

THE TERRIBLE EXPLOSION AT NEWCASTLE.—On Tuesday afternoon there was a terrible explosion of nitro-glycerine near Newcastle. This most explosive of all blasting substances has been for some months, it seems, kept in a cellars of a public-house at Newcastle, without any of the legal precautions. There were at first thirty canisters, which were slowly sold off, and at last, when the alarm was taken and the precautions adopted which led to the explosion, nine were left. When the mayor and other authorities heard of the existence of this dangerous substance in such quantities in the cellar of the White Swan, close behind the Branch Bank of England, they ordered it to be removed and destroyed, and this was done under the superintendence of the sheriff, Mr. Mawson, himself a chemist, and the town surveyor, Mr. Bryson. Mr. Mawson intended to have it spread over the marshy soil of the moor, and it was taken out there in a spring van with that view. After emptying the canisters, however, some of the crystals adhered to the bottom, and some of the party went to bury the canisters in the moor at a little distance. This they seem to have done, and then to have beaten the earth down upon the tomb of the canisters with their spades. The shock exploded the crystals with a tremendous report, killed five of the men, and so seriously injured the sheriff and town surveyor, Mr. Mawson and Mr. Bryson, that both of them have died since, and died in great pain. The explosive force of the crystals left at the bottom of the canisters must have been terrific. It blew some of those who were close to the spot almost to pieces, the driver of the cab, a hundred yards or more off, was blown off his cab on to the horse, and it broke the windows of the cab. The ground appears as if a mine had been sprung in the neighbourhood.—*Spectator.*

CAN THE PUBLICATION OF PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES BE A LIBEL?—This important question was heard last week before the Court of Queen's Bench. The case occupied three days, and was concluded on Friday. The question arose in reference to the statements made in the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor and other peers as to Mr. Rigby Wason's petition complaining of the appointment of Sir Fitzroy Kelly as a judge. Mr. Wason brought an action agains tthe *Times* for libel. The Chief Justice declared that in his opinion a correct report of what was said in Parliament was privileged. The jury were only a minute or two considering their verdict. Before it was delivered Mr. Wason said he desired to tender exception to his lordship's ruling, adding that he never expected such a summing-up. The Lord Chief Justice said the plaintiff was entitled to except if he pleased, but he must have a note of the exception before the verdict was delivered. The jury were now ready to deliver their verdict, but were stayed until the plaintiff had written the note of his exception, which was "that the Lord Chief Justice should not have told the jury that Parliamentary reports, if fair and faithful, were privileged." The Lord Chief Justice having reviewed this exception, the jury delivered their verdict, which was for the defendant on all the counts.

Literature.

EDMUND BURKE.*

We expressed recently our satisfaction that Mr. Motley, in writing the history of the sixteenth century, had been able to cast off those prepossessions in favour of the privileged classes, under the influence of which history has too frequently been written, but we are still more pleased to find a similar spirit of sympathy with the many rather than with the few, a belief in popular right rather than in class privilege, shown by a writer in discussing those great conflicts of George the Third's reign, in which Edmund Burke took so prominent a part. There is really no portion of our annals which hitherto has been so unsatisfactorily treated. We have innumerable volumes of memoirs, containing all sorts of personal reminiscences, court gossip, anecdotes relating to all the leading men of the day, endless accounts of the intrigues relative to the formation or dissolution of Cabinets; but very little has been done towards giving a philosophical view of the period, and of the great questions at issue in the personal squabbles, of which the most patient and painstaking reader soon becomes weary. Even those who have attempted to give us a connected and consistent view of the struggle have generally been the advocates of one or other of the contending parties, and have shown little care for the real bearing of the struggle on popular rights. Mr. Phillimore, in his opening volume of a history of the reign, writes in a much more trenchant and vigorous style, but he does not show that philosophic insight and discrimination which gives such force to Mr. Morley's caustic utterances, who has no sympathy with Toryism, and not much more with Whiggery, which he regards as pretty nearly the same thing under a different name. The Whigs have always claimed to be the champions of the popular cause; they use popular war-cries for the advancement of their own purposes, and have been exceedingly glad to accept the support of the popular party; but they have had no more real love for popular rights than their great opponents. "Time and "security," says our author (and his remark was hardly more true of the men a century ago than it is now), "soon wear off the thin white-"wash which distinguishes a patrician Whig "from an avowed Tory." He himself cares nothing for mere party professions and manœuvres. He believes in the rights of the people, and is interested chiefly in tracing the phases of the grand struggle for their vindication in the eighteenth century, and the relation which Edmund Burke occupied to it. He is not an indiscriminate eulogist, but he has a high appreciation of Burke's genius, understands clearly the great principles by which he was guided, and the real service which he rendered to constitutional progress, and while he does justice to the man, his work is specially valuable for the clear light in which he presents the events of the period.

The old Whig party, the lineal descendants of the men who, influenced for the most part quite as much by aristocratic selfishness as by any real patriotism, had brought about the Revolution of 1688, was broken up in 1770. Internal jealousies had weakened the strength of the few great families who fancied that England had been rescued from the grasp of despotism in order that it might become the appanage of an exclusive oligarchy, of which they were to be the heads. For a time their scheme had succeeded. So long as Jacobitism was still a real force, our German kings were almost of necessity thrown into the hands of the Whig aristocrats, whose power, so seriously threatened during the reign of Anne, became absolute under the first two Georges. But there were quarrels among themselves about the division of the spoil, and the difficulties of the party were complicated by the impracticable temper of Lord Chatham and the exaggerated notions of their own importance held by the Granvilles. The disputes might have been adjusted and things made pleasant after some fashion had George III. at all resembled his predecessors. But he was just the kind of ruler with whom it was difficult to deal.

Devout believers in the Patriot King, the old women of both sexes who have a stock of the stories illustrative of his kindness of heart with which we used to be regaled in our childhood, will be very much shocked at the irreverent manner in which Mr. Morley speaks of their royal idol. Unfortunately, however, he has contracted a habit that is growing more prevalent, of calling even great men by their right names, and describing their acts in honest words. He does not hesitate to say that "on "the whole the *patricians had about as little* "*to be proud of in George III., as the mob had* "*in Wilkes.*" Extremely narrow in intellect, he had in an exaggerated degree the obstinacy always characteristic of his special type of mind. With all his talk about the Constitution, he had no proper understanding of its character, and certainly no sympathy with its spirit, as is shown by the contemptuous style in which he talks of the people of England, from whom his authority was derived, as "the vulgar," and by his proposition to bring certain "miscreants," that is, printers who had been guilty of an atrocious breach of Parliamentary privilege by publishing the debates, before the House of Lords. Of this Mr. Morley says justly:—"By "his proposal to make the House of Lords a "universal court of first instance, for on no "other theory could it take any cognisance of "a complaint of a breach of the privileges of "the Commons, he was endeavouring to set up an "iniquitously unconstitutional doctrine. The "design of this was clearly as unconstitutional "as anything done in the Star Chamber." Such a man was, of all others, the worst for these scheming aristocrats to encounter. Tenacious of any purpose he formed, jealous of his own prerogative, and suspicious of anything that threatened to interfere with his power, unscrupulous in the means he employed to secure his ends, as is evident by what Mr. Morley calls his "gracious approval of blood-"shed, and encouraging invitation to shed more "blood whenever an opportunity should offer," in his message to the military after a bloody collision in 1768, he was not a weak, though in some respects a very contemptible adversary. Thus the "most stupid and pragmatic of beadles" secured for himself a success which a nobler or stronger man might have failed to achieve. He contributed mainly to explode that belief in the Divine right of nobles which the Whigs had substituted for the old faith in the Divine right of kings. He effectually discomfited and scattered the "select horde of peers wrangling "for places and for the public money, devoted "to selfish and low-minded intrigues, and per-"fectly indifferent to the welfare of the State," by whom England had been ruled and plundered for years, but what he desired was to put himself in their room and realise Bolingbroke's ideal of a Patriot King. He had ventured on a task beyond his power, but he was able to maintain a protracted struggle, the issue of which often seemed doubtful, and might have been different but for the influence which the New World and its successful war for independence exercised upon the fortunes of the Old.

> "If George III., trained as he is said to have been in the doctrines of this work (Bolingbroke's 'Idea of a Patriot King') had possessed capacity and generosity enough to understand and assimilate them, if he had even distantly resembled his illustrious cousin, the King of Prussia, the history of his country might have moved in a very different direction from that which it has actually taken. But instead of being a hero, George III. was only a dull man with a rather bad head. He did not understand his own principles, and even if he had had ability enough to understand them, he had no ability to carry them into practice. There is nothing more fatal, either in private life or in the larger affairs of State, than for an incompetent man to grasp a principle of action that is too big for him. Such was the case with this wretched sovereign. He tried to play the good despot over the vast empire of Britain with a capacity barely equal to the work of a parish constable. Within ten years he brought England to the verge of revolution. Within twenty years he had dismembered the empire."

Thus poor George, though he managed to dish the Whigs, was very like those who have performed a similar operation in our own times, very little better for his success. He only made it clear that he at least was not to be the Patriot King, and as the old Whigs were disposed of, the question was as to how and by whom his unconstitutional proceedings in working out what he was pleased to consider the Constitution, were to be resisted. A new party was created, and created mainly by the extraordinary influence of Burke. On the Whigs "his eloquence and ardour acted like "the touch of the spear of Ithuriel. They "flung off the degraded shape which had grown "about them, and sprang up with new fire and "new vitality." The position which he took is intelligible enough, and as it seems to us now, eminently unsound. Instead of trusting to the popular sentiment, and to the idea of a patriot people in opposition to that of a patriot King, he rested his faith on an aristocracy with popular sympathies. He desired government *for* the people, as did Bolingbroke, who would have had no patience with any but an enlightened despotism, clearly understanding the wants of the governed, and ready to meet them, but he differed from him in trusting to a noble-minded aristocracy rather than a king. Neither the one nor the other had any faith in the principle which is now being more widely recognised every day, that the people are the best judges of their own interests, and of the way in which to advance to them, that government should not only be *for* them but *by* them, and that even the mistakes which they may commit are less injurious to the national life than the development of the spirit which is created by a habit of dependence on the will of the wisest paternal Government under heaven. There have been, according to Mr. Morley, four great movements of political thought since the Revolution. The first was the old Whig assumption that "a benevolent Provi-"dence created the people of England in order "that they might be governed by a select number "of patrician families." The last "rose at the "end of the American War of Independence, "received a powerful impetus from the ever-"memorable outbreak against feudalism and "privilege in France, was checked again by the "horror which some of the excesses of that "outbreak aroused, was forcibly repressed "during that most dismal period in English "history from 1794 to 1815, burst forth again "uncontrollably after the peace, wrung the "Reform Bill from the patrician oligarchy, "wrung new poor laws and free trade from "selfish or ignorant squires, and will before "long still further impair that fabric of national "privileges which must deservedly fall when "they have become dissociated from the "notions of superior political obligations." Burke stands midway between the first and last, representing the third movement, which was a reaction from that inaugurated by Bolingbroke, and carried out by George III., Lord Bute, Lord North, and their coadjutors.

Burke had as little sympathy with the democratic ideas of our own time, nay, far less than with any of the other theories we have indicated, and yet, despite that strong love of order which led him into such grave errors relative to the French Revolution, he did much to render the triumph of these ideas possible. That fierce struggle against mere privilege in which he played so conspicuous a part was not fought altogether in vain. Mr. Morley points the real meaning even of an episode that looks so uninviting and so petty as the Wilkes controversy. Instead of joining in the wild howl against the democrat, he indicates the strength of his position and the bearing of the discussion upon the great questions of constitutional liberty. He "was but a poor hero, it is true, yet he was a "better man than the vile Sandwich,—first his "accomplice, and then his betrayer; he was "politically as respectable as Lord North, who "pandered to the passions of a vulgar monarch "quite as recklessly as Wilkes at any time "pandered to the passions of a vulgar mob." Bad as he was, he fought a great battle, that needed to be fought, on behalf of the right of popular election. The three points in dispute through the long contest of the new Whigs with George were as to the power of the Lower House, "whether the will of the Sovereign or "the vote of the Chamber should be the final "and decisive appeal in great affairs of State"; as to the relations of the people to the legislature; and as to the responsibility of the executive as a whole to the House of Commons. We cannot examine the way in which Burke dealt with all of these. Suffice it to say here that by none was the battle more gallantly fought, and his subsequent conduct must not lead us to underrate the eminent service he rendered in a crisis of great difficulty. Having said this, we must satisfy ourselves with thanking Mr. Morley for the vigour and breadth of his political views, and for the careful and philosophical mode in which he has treated a subject of great interest and some difficulty. His monogram is an invaluable addition to the historic literature of the period. We close by a graphic and interesting sketch of Burke himself.

> "We hear him in conversation at the club, with Johnson and Goldsmith, and Reynolds and Windham, winding into his subject like a serpent, as Goldsmith said of him, bidding some too grave and anxious gentleman to 'live pleasant'; fascinating the great-hearted Johnson with 'his knowledge, his genius, his diffusion and affluence of conversation,' and making him cry, 'Sir, that fellow calls forth all my powers.' We see him in the House of Commons, in his tight brown coat, with his spectacles and a little bob-wig with curls, beginning his oration with folded arms and an air of humility, and gradually rising to thunderous denunciations of the noble lord in the blue ribbon; or, later on, of those vain petulant upstarts in a neighbouring country, who were wickedly proscribing the sacred ministers of religion, persecuting their virtuous and innocent sovereign, and covering with humiliation the august daughter of the Cæsars. We may follow him from the heat and violence of the House, where drunken lordlings and squires derided the greatest man of their time, down to the calm shades of Beaconsfield, where he would, with his own hands, give food to a starving beggar, or medicine to a peasant sick of the ague; where he would talk of the weather, the turnips, and the hay, with the team men and the farm bailiff; and where, in the evening stillness, he would pace the walk under the trees, and reflect on the state of Europe and the distractions of his country. While Fox was squandering tens of thousands at the

* *Edmund Burke: a Historical Study.* By JOHN MORLEY, B.A., Oxon. London: Macmillan.

gaming-table, we may watch Burke supporting Barry for several years at Rome; anxiously pressing his last half-guinea upon the friendless Emin; rescuing Crabbe, though a perfect stranger to him, from a debtors' prison, and maintaining him in his own house until a provision was found for him; and on every occasion ready to extend, not only sympathy, but a share of his slender purse, whenever he found penniless genius or worth."

CHILDREN'S BOOKS.

Silver Lake; or, Lost in the Snow. By R. M. BALLANTYNE. (London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.) Mr. Ballantyne's is a true Christmas story of adventures and perils among the snow—perils of a nature with which English children, happily for themselves, are not familiar. The hero and heroine of the story are the children of a settler who had pitched his tent on the extreme frontier of civilisation, and whose family were thus exposed to all the dangers which a proximity to Indian savages involved. How the little ones were lost in the snow on New Year's Day, and captured by a party of Indians, who carried them away into the depth of the forest, the surprising way in which they effected their escape, and contrived to tread their path across the trackless desert, how they encamped for weeks by a beautiful lake, where they contrived to subsist on fish and birds, until at length they were happily found by their friends, is all told with great spirit and interest. The story is sure to be interesting to our young friends, who will be fascinated by its pleasant style and spirit-stirring adventures, and will not trouble themselves with any of the little improbabilities which can hardly fail to suggest themselves to the more sceptical minds of their seniors.

Old Merry is one of the most genial, pleasant, and entertaining friends whom children can desire to find, and he has associated with himself in the production of *Old Merry's Annual* (London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder), a number of workers of like spirit with himself. "Silver Lake," of which we give a separate notice, has perhaps a right to be regarded as the leading story of the volume, but it is very far from being its only attraction. Of course children must have, and ought to have, stories, especially at Christmas time; but "Old "Merry" wisely judges that they need also more substantial fare, and therefore we have, among a great variety of articles, some capital lessons in natural history and "evening merry-makings," in the course of which a good deal of solid instruction is communicated in a very pleasant style. "Old Merry" himself even ventures on a homily, at which we hope our young friends will not be frightened, as we can assure them it is neither dry nor prosy. Altogether this annual is a perfect success, and we can only hope that "Old Merry" will long continue to fill as well as he does at present an important niche in our Christmas literature.

The Story of White Rock Cove. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons.) A better, more healthful, more judicious book for boys, one better fitted to help them in that great battle against themselves which is the real struggle for life, we have not met for some time. The tale is interesting enough, but the value of the book lies chiefly in the moral lessons which it conveys. It shows how, under a very fair exterior, evil passions may lurk waiting only for the presence of temptation to call them into activity, how easily one sin leads on to others which, at first, would be regarded with intense abhorrence, how terrible the results which may follow from one thoughtless act, done under the influence of overmastering passion. It is a different style of book from Mr. Ballantyne's stirring tales, but boys may read it with at least equal advantage.

Pilgrim Street: a Story of Manchester Life. By the Author of "Fern's Hollow." (London: The Religious Tract Society.) There is a peculiar art in writing short, interesting, useful tales, which but few possess. The Author of "Fern's Hollow," and "The Children "of Clovelly," has it in perfection. There is a naturalness, a pathos, and a quiet power, about her writings, which it is not easy to resist. The reader is not wearied by prolixity, nor startled by a mock sensationalism, nor vexed with a needless and inopportune obtrusion of moral and religious reflections, yet there is a tone of unaffected piety which pervades her books, and constitutes one of their principal charms. "Pilgrim "Street" is well worthy of its place in this little series of stories, which are among the best the Tract Society has published.

Frances Leslie, or the Prayer Divinely Taught. By Miss E. BICKERSTETH. (Religious Tract Society.) The history of a motherless family is here told with great tenderness and simplicity, the design being to show how the several incidents in their experience brought home to them the meaning of the various petitions in our Lord's prayer. Miss Bickersteth writes well. She has here got a good idea, and knows how to use it effectively.

BRIEF NOTICES.

The Story of a Diamond. Illustrative of Egyptian Manners and Customs. By Miss M. L. WHATELY, Author of "Ragged Life in Egypt." (London: The Religious Tract Society.) This story is intended to give a view of some of the leading features of modern Egyptian life, with which the writer is manifestly thoroughly conversant, and which she describes with a great deal of truth and beauty. The diamond, which serves as the centre round which her various characters and incidents are grouped, passes successively through various hands, and opportunity is thus given for the introduction of different characters and modes of life. Its various adventures are natural and probable enough, and in tracing them the writer finds abundant scope for the exercise of her powers, and the communication of knowledge derived from long and varied observation and experience, and which perhaps would have received less attention if communicated in a different form. The book is attractive, though it has rather too much of the goody-good tone about it. Miss Whately is, however, a deeply pious woman, greatly interested in all plans for the social and moral amelioration of the Egyptian people, of whose character and manners she has made a study; and if her zeal sometimes a little outruns her discretion, the error is one which earnest men can easily pardon. She very cleverly exposes some of the faults and follies of fashionable English tourists, and her little book contains a number of suggestions and hints which will be very useful to visitors to the deeply-interesting region which she describes.

The Harvest of a Quiet Eye. Leisure Thoughts for Busy Lives. By the Author of "My Study Chair." (The Religious Tract Society.) The happily-chosen title of this elegant and useful gift-book is taken from Wordsworth's well-known and beautiful description of the true poet's vocation. It consists of a series of simple, touching, and devout meditations adapted to the different periods of the year. "They have but the "ambition of a flower that looks up to cheer, or a bird's "note that tranquilly, amid storms, continues a simple "melody from the heart of its tree," but they show how much food for profitable thought the common things that round us lie may furnish to a devout and thoughtful spirit. The style of these musings is chaste and finished, the book is well printed, and the illustrations are marked by elegance and good taste.

The Continuity of Religious Development. By DAVID GRIFFITH. (London: Williams and Norgate.) The idea of this book is good, but it is not at all worked out. Mr. Griffith affirms that there is "an order, a "wondrous connection of development in the various "forms of religious belief and worship throughout all "the eras of human history." The title and preface lead readers to suppose that he will trade this, at least in the past and present of Christendom. But after the first sermon of the volume, the idea of continuity is but incidentally treated in a sermon on "Religious Educa-"tion," and one on "Working Men and Religious In-"stitutions"; disappears altogether in the two following discourses on "the crucifixion of our Lord" and "Im-"mortality"; again to start up in the titles of a discourse on "Ritualism," and the closing sermon of the volume on "The Present in its Relation to the Future of "Christendom." Mr. Griffith's intent is too ambitious for his performance. He has produced some interesting discourses, marked by good feeling and piety. But, to judge him by them, he lacks the patience needed to trace a great philosophical principle through the varying phenomena of religious belief. To announce the "Con-"tinuity of Religious Development" is very easy; accurate habits of thinking and very careful analysis are needed in him who would be the exposition of it. Mr. Griffith takes flight from the problems he suggests into pure sentiments and tender emotions. The postulate to which he constantly resorts would appear to be that "Whatever should be, "is," a profound truth, indeed, but not to be weakened in force by sentimental applications. Mr. Griffith has appended some "notes" to his sermons, that do but say in the "worldly" manner what he says sermonically. It would have been far more satisfactory if he had used the space to establish his assertion that the institution of Good Friday was "conceived in the Church's infancy, "and carried down through all the succeeding ages"; and "forms a continuous, unbroken line of testimony to "the reality of this great event (the Crucifixion), testi-"mony of the greater and far more intrinsic worth, "since from its very nature it is unintentionally ren-"dered." An Anglican congregation may suffer such statements to pass unchallenged; but the Unitarian congregation to whom these sermons are dedicated must have lost all claims to sobriety of historical criticism, must have become credulous instead of inquiring, if it can be persuaded that "it gives us a sense of stability, "unspeakably reassuring, to place our feet upon the "firm ground of such evidence as this, where the eyes, "in the silent majesty of their accumulated attestation, "are the unconscious, unimpeachable witnesses."

The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall and their Friends, &c. By MARIA WEBB, author of "The Penns and Penningtons," &c. Second edition. (London: F. Bowyer Kitto, 5, Bishopsgate Without.)—George Fox, in his Journal (A.D. 1669), writes thus:—"I had seen from "the Lord a considerable time before that I should take "Margaret Fell to be my wife. And when I first men-"tioned it to her, she felt the answer of life from God "thereunto. But though the Lord had opened this "thing unto me, yet I had not received a command "from the Lord for the accomplishing of it then. "Wherefore I let the thing rest, and went on in the "work and service of the Lord as before, according as "the Lord led me, travelling up and down in this "nation, and through the nation of Ireland." On his return from Iralan they were married, and shortly after, "taking our leave of each "other in the Lord, we parted, betaking our-"selves each to our several service; Margaret "returning homewards to the North, and I passing on into the counties, in the Work of the Lord, as before." This Margaret was daughter of John Askew, and great-grand daughter of Anne Askew, the martyr. She had been previously married to Thomas Fell, a man of wealth and influence, commonly known as Judge Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall, in Lancashire. She was a woman of great comeliness, with "beaming countenance" and "most sweet harmonious voice." She joined the "Friends of Truth" in consequence of Fox's preaching; and gave herself and all the advantages of her station and wealth to advance the cause of Quakerism, and help its persecuted adherents. She seems to have been generally acknowledged as the faithful nursing-mother of the flock; and she often addressed them when they were in bonds, or otherwise tried, with letters of consolation and encouragement. This volume is a narrative of her life, and of that part of Quaker history with which she was associated. It is interesting as a record of the labours and sufferings of the Friends, "the sect everywhere spoken against" during the Commonwealth and the later Stuart times. But its special interest centres in Margaret herself. The simple devotedness of her character, her elevated Christian wisdom, her zeal and courage, lend a charm to the story of this troubled period. Her life illustrates and adorns the history of George Fox and the Quakers, much as the life of Mrs. Margaret Baxter does that of Baxter and the Nonconformists. Mrs. Webb has produced an interesting volume. Here and there, we notice a grammatical blunder, and she cannot speak of Cromwell except with bitterness. But there are very slight blemishes; good sense and good feeling are marked in her work, as well as love of her theme.

Kelly's Post Office Directory for 1868.—This most indispensable publication appears again with all its usual features of excellence. With so little variation from year to year there is nothing for us to remark further than that it is most carefully revised up to the present date, and although possessing probably additional matter, is if anything less bulky, than last year, owing to the use in one part of a new and smaller, but beautifully clear type. Alterations are made up to as late a date as December 3rd.

Miscellaneous News.

THE IRISH REFORM LEAGUE has ceased to exist. A resolution was adopted at its last meeting declaring it to be necessary for the protection of the members of its council to adjourn until such time as the liberty of her Majesty's subjects in Ireland is again protected by the Habeas Corpus Act.

THE ROYAL HOSPITAL FOR DISEASES OF THE CHEST, CITY-ROAD.—The number of patients under treatment at this hospital during the past week amounted to 760, of which 63 were new cases.

GREAT NORTHERN HOSPITAL, CALEDONIAN-ROAD, N.—The committee thankfully acknowledge the following sums at this season:—J. B., 5s.; C. B., 5s.; Mr. Scott, 5*l.*; E. Hatton, Esq., 5*l.*; J. R. (Ryde), 3*l.*; R. H. A., 10s.; E. G. B. (Holloway), 3s. 6d.; Surbiton, 2s.; Sat., 10s.; Mrs. Pritchard, 20s.; Miss Nicholls, 20s.; Joseph Thorley, Esq., 10*l.* 10s.; the Rev. H. F. V., 2*l.*; G. Horsley, Esq., 21s. annually. Beds are unoccupied for want of funds. Number of patients for the week ending Dec. 21, 1,006, of which 324 were new cases.

METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITIES.—It is understood that Mr. Ayrton, M.P., has been at work upon a bill for the municipal government of London, based upon the report of his select committee of last session, and it is said that the bill is now ready. The Metropolitan Board of Works is proposed as the chief central authority, under the title of "The Municipal Council of London." An improvement-rate is to be levied on the metropolis, including the City, and the funds raised are to be applied by the "Metropolitan Council."—*City Press.*

PRICES AT HOME AND ABROAD.—Continental cheapness is now an old and worn-out superstition. At this moment Paris is a more expensive place of residence than London; and the prices of the necessaries and luxuries of life at Nice, Pau, Cannes, Mentone, Florence, Rome, and Naples are rather higher than in Paris or in London, although the said necessaries and luxuries are vastly inferior to those obtainable in the capitals of France and England. Economists ought in future to turn their eyes towards Canada. A recent number of the *Canadian News* gives the following as the current prices in the Kingston market:—Geese, 1s. to 1s. 4d. each; turkeys, 1s. 1d. to 1s. 3d.; ducks, 1s. 6d. a pair; chickens, 1s. a pair; beef, 5c. a pound; mutton, 4½c.; pork, 4c.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

A HORSE-FLESH BANQUET.—The first serious attempt at horse-eating in England took place on Thursday, when twenty-two gentlemen sat down to an elaborate banquet at a leading West-end hotel. This banquet has been in course of preparation for months, and considerable pains were taken to make it successful. The horse was the gift of one of the diners, who has personally superintended its diet and regimen ever since its fate was determined on, who rode it into town last Saturday, and had it killed "on approved principles" two days later. The cook was the most celebrated artist of the day; the dinner was presided over by a well-known and accomplished public man; and the church, the bar, the bench,

physic, literature, science, the arts, the royal, and the other learned societies were all represented.—*Express.*

DINNER TO RAGGED CHILDREN.—A scene of a singularly interesting character was witnessed on Tuesday at the Refuge for Homeless Boys, Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields—the giving of the first of a series of winter dinners to destitute children. The company began to arrive shortly after twelve o'clock. Most of them were ragged; many of them came capless, a large proportion shoeless; some of them appeared both bareheaded and barefooted, with the exception, as regards the latter, of a covering of wet mud. The children invited belonged to the parish of St. Giles, and were representatives of the ragged-schools of that thickly populated district. They numbered 340. The chief object of these dinners is to relieve the wants of poor ragged children. It is intended, if sufficient extra funds are subscribed, to give a similarly substantial dinner to these ragged children once or twice a week during the winter months.

THE INCREASE IN THE INCOME-TAX.—The following statement, supplied to us by the assessor of taxes in this district, will be of service, showing the change which has recently occurred:—The charge for incomes made by trades or professions will be 5d. in the pound for the whole year ending April 5, 1868. On chief rents, interests, &c., the tax of 4d. in the pound having been paid or received up to the 24th of June last, the legal charge from that date to the end of December will be at the rate of 5½d., and for the quarter ending April 5, 1868, 5d. For example, take a chief rent of 20*l.* per annum. The first quarter, already paid, on 5*l.* at 4d., was 1s. 8d.; the second and third quarters, now due, on 10*l.* at 5½d., is 4s. 7d.; the fourth quarter, due April 5, 1868, on 5*l.* at 5d., will be 2s. 1d.; total, 20*l.* at 5d. is 8s. 4d. But for facility of calculation and to avoid fractions it would be more advisable to pay or receive on all sums due at the present time at the rate of 6d. in the pound, so that on the quarter ending April 5, 1868, there will only be a charge of 4d. due as on the first quarter.—*Manchester Examiner.*

Gleanings.

The newest mechanical contrivance announced is an invention for "weaving by compressed air." Is this what has been so long "looming in the future"?

Railway mail trains now run daily between New York and Cheyenne, in Colorado, at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, a distance of 1,800 miles.

Haydon's picture, "The Raising of Lazarus," so long and so well known on the staircase at the Pantheon, Oxford-street, has been obtained for the National Gallery, British School.

EXTINGUISHING OF GREEK FIRE.—Dr. H. Medlock says the so-called Greek fire may be immediately and permanently extinguished by a solution of common washing soda—one pound to a gallon of water.

"Taking them one with another," said Sidney Smith, "I believe my congregation to be the most exemplary observers of the religious ordinances; for the poor keep all the fasts and the rich all the feasts."

A gentleman hiring a servant in New York, after patiently enduring the usual catechism, when asked, "And have you any children?" replied, "Yes, I have five; but I can drown two or three if you insist upon it."

THE VALUE OF MISTLETOE.—A farmer, near Leatherhead, Surrey, has this year sold the mistletoe growing on oak and elm trees on his farm for 30*l.*, and this has been purchased by higglers, who will convey it to London and realise three times that amount by the speculation.

"THE COURSE OF TRUE LOVE."—A sweethearting expedition was brought to a somewhat disastrous ending at Distington, in Cumberland, on Sunday night. A couple of young farmers—one of them being a formally accepted suitor—went courting the daughters of an old farmer, and to attract the young ladies' attention resorted to whistling and rapping of windows. Fearing buglars, the old farmer took down his double-barrelled gun, and going out into the dark, fired in the direction whence the sounds came. He shot one of the lovers in the side and the other in the face, but did no very serious injury to either of them. The disaster is to end in a double marriage.

THE RESULTS OF INDISCRIMINATE CHARITY.—A miserable-looking person, named James Burke, who played a flute about the streets and in public-houses in the provinces for coppers, was brought up before the Stockport borough justices a few days ago on suspicion of passing counterfeit coin to the keeper of a spirit-vault, but was liberated for want of proof of a second payment. On searching him at his lodgings, the police found in his possession a Stockport savings' bank book for a deposit of 71*l.* 16s. 1d., a deposit cheque for 131*l.* in the Bank of Westport, Ireland; 22*l.* in gold, and 1*l.* 6s. in silver and copper—amounting in the whole to 225*l.* 16s. 1d.

ASTONISHED RED MAN.—An American paper tells of a band of Indians who made a sudden attack on a detachment of soldiers in the mountains. The soldiers had a mountain howitzer mounted on a mule. Not having time to take it off and put it in position, they backed up the mule and let drive at the Indians. The load was so heavy that mule and all went tumbling down the hill towards the savages, who, not understanding that kind of warfare, fled like deer. Afterwards one of them was captured, and when asked why he ran so replied, "Me big Injin, not afraid of little guns or big guns, but when white men load up and fire a whole jackass at Injin, me don't know what to do."

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTHS.

MANNERING.—December 14, at 23, Finsbury Circus, the wife of Edward Hill Mannering, of a son.

SMITH.—December 21, at Maitland Park, N.W., the wife of the Rev. R. H. Smith, of a daughter.

YOUNG.—December 21, at Tyndale-terrace, Canonbury, the wife of Sidney Young (son of Joseph Young, of Chatham), of a son.

MARRIAGES.

LEWIS—WALLEY.—November 14, at the London Mission chapel, Kingston, Jamaica, by the Rev. W. Gardner, Richard A. Lewis, manager of the Jamaica railway, to Sarah Anne, eldest daughter of the late Stephen Walley, of Welsh Frankton, Oswestry, Salop.

FISHER—BALDWIN.—December 8, at the Congregational church, Ramsgate, by the Rev. H. J. Bevis, Mr. Ephraim Fisher, of North Walsham, to Miss Agnes Baldwin, of the former place.

ROTHERY—ROOTSEY.—December 11, at Buckingham Chapel, Clifton, by the Rev. John Penny, the Rev. Joseph Rothery, of Bampton, Devon, to Miss Sarah Rootsey, of Redland.

BROOK—KIRK.—December 11, at Ramsden-street Chapel, Huddersfield, by the Rev. R. Skinner, John Joshua, eldest son of Uriah Brook, Shapley, to Catherine, only daughter of the late John Kirk, Rashcliffe iron works, Huddersfield.

CUBBY—WINNARD.—December 11, in St. Paul's Independent Chapel, Wigan, by the Rev. William Roaf, Mr. Samuel Cubby, to Miss Ann Winnard, both of that town.

FOWLER—CUE.—December 11, by license, at the Independent chapel, Highworth, by the Rev. J. E. Judson, Mr. William Fowler, of Bishopstone, to Jane, only daughter of the late Mr. Charles Cue, of the same place.

CRAWLEY—JACKSON.—December 14, at Crossbrook Congregational Church, Cheshunt, by the Rev. J. Oswald Jackson, Samuel Crawley, Esq., of Larkhall-rise, Clapham, to Joanna Trotter Jackson, of Hertford.

WORTHINGTON—TAYLOR.—December 15, in St. Paul's Independent Chapel, Wigan, by the Rev. W. Roaf, Mr. John Worthington, to Miss Margaret Taylor, both of that town.

BROWN—COOPER.—December 16, at the Independent chapel, Aylesbury, by the Rev. George Williams, William, youngest son of the late Mr. William Brown, of Kirriemuir, Scotland, to Sarah Capps, eldest daughter of Mr. George Cooper, of Aylesbury.

BUNGARD—PACK.—December 16, at the Baptist chapel, Lowestoft, by the Rev. Walter Peppercorn, Mr. Henry Bungard, of Tottenham, to Miss Frances Pack, of Lowestoft.

HINCHLIFFE—ROBINSON.—December 17, at the Congregational chapel, Spring-head, Oldham, by the Rev. F. Smith, Mr. George Hinchliffe, to Mary, daughter of Mr. George Robinson, both of Woodbrook.

KROEKER—FREILIGRATH.—December 17, at St. Thomas's-square Chapel, Hackney, by the Rev. W. Kirkus, LL.B., Edward Kroeker, Esq., of Forest-hill, to Kate, eldest daughter of Ferdinand Freiligrath, Esq., of Lower Clapton.

WELLINGTON—CALCOTT.—December 19, at Brunswick Congregational Chapel, Bristol, by the Rev. J. Morris, assisted by the Rev. V. P. Sells, Mr. Edwin Henry Wellington, of Newnham, Gloucestershire, to Frances Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late Mr. George Calcott, of Portsmouth.

WINKLES—LAWRENCE.—December 19, at the Victoria-road Church, Leicester, by the Rev. N. Haycroft, Mr. Thomas Winkles, Upper Kent-street, to Louisa, fourth daughter of Mr. John Lawrence, Nelson-street, of Leicester.

JEVONS—TAYLOR.—December 19, at Shaw's-lane Chapel, Altrincham, by the Rev. A. Creery, B.A., W. Stanley Jevons, Esq., M.A., of Owens' College, Manchester, to Harriett Ann, third daughter of the late John Edward Taylor, Esq., of that city.

HARINGTON—WOOD.—December 19, at Wycliffe Chapel, Devonport, by the Rev. H. T. Holmes, the Rev. J. R. S. Harington, youngest son of the late Lieutenant H. Harington, R.N., grandson of the late Dr. Harington, and nephew of the late Sir Edward Harington, of Bath, to Elizabeth, younger daughter of the late T. Wood, Esq., of the Warryfield, near Ross, Herefordshire.

DEATHS.

ELD.—December 8, at Hill-top, Westbromwich, deeply regretted, Sarah, the beloved wife of John Eld, aged fifty-one.

BUDGETT.—December 9, at Henleaze Park, Westbury-on-Trym, near Bristol, John Payne Budgett, Esq., in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

CROGGON.—December 15, at Redruth, Alice, daughter of Josiah Croggon, of Grampound, aged twenty-two years.

CLAY.—December 19, in Eaton-square, Lady Clay, wife of Sir William Clay, Bart., aged sixty-seven.

DIXIE.—December 19, at Peckham House, Peckham, after an illness of nine days, Miss Elizabeth Dixie, in the seventy-sixth year of her age.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Friday's *Gazette*.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, Dec. 18.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£35,786,995	Government Debt	£11,015,100
		Other Securities ..	3,984,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion	20,786,995
	£35,786,995		£35,786,995

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities (inc. dead weight annuity)	£13,019,203
Rest	3,039,288		
Public Deposits....	7,146,320		
Other Deposits	19,000,485	Other Securities ..	17,218,755
Seven Day and other Bills	550,954	Notes	12,898,375
		Gold & Silver Coin	1,153,714
	£44,290,047		£44,290,047

Dec. 19, 1857. FRANK MAY, Deputy Chief Cashier.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—FLUTTERING OF THE HEART.—This may be a temporary inconvenience, or the certain prelude to ulterior mischief. These purifying pills address themselves directly to the cause of palpitation, dispel flatulency, and regulate all derangements of the nerves and circulation, besides acting as general tonics and invigorators of the system. The feeble and infirm, who are subject to flushings, faintness, and hysterical affections, will derive permanent benefit from a course of Holloway's Pills, which reduce every vital action to order—not even excepting the brain and its many sensorial offshoots. Perfect reliance may be placed upon these pills as a family medicine; their purifying, tonic, and aperient powers commend them to the attention of all superintending the young and delicate.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, December 23.

There was a small supply of English wheat on show at this morning market, and the attendance of buyers very limited. Only the best samples were taken at about 1s. per quarter advance on the rates of this day se'nnight; secondary sorts were neglected. The trade for foreign was quite of a holiday character, and quotations remained nominally unaltered. Barley firm and quiet. Beans and peas unchanged in value, with more doing in the latter. The arrival of foreign oats for the week is very large. This has had the influence on prices, and with a slow trade we must quote a decline of about 6d. per quarter from the rates of this day week. Wednesday being Christmas-day our market will be closed.

CURRENT PRICES.

	Per Qr. s.	s.
WHEAT—		
Essex and Kent, red, old	69 to	72
Ditto new	64	70
White, old	72	78
,, new	64	74
Foreign red	67	72
,, white ..	69	75
BARLEY—		
English malting ..	34	35
Chevalier	39	45
Distilling	36	40
Foreign	33	35
MALT—		
Pale	—	—
Chevalier	—	—
Brown	50	57
BEANS—		
Ticks	40	43
Harrow	41	44
Small	—	—
Egyptian	42	43

	Per Qr. s.	s.
PEAS—		
Grey	43 to	45
Maple	46	47
White	46	47
Boilers	46	47
Foreign, white ..	44	47
RYE	43	48
OATS—		
English feed.. ..	25	32
,, potatoe ..	29	34
Scotch feed	25	30
,, potatoe ..	29	34
Irish black	23	26
,, white	24	26
Foreign feed.. ..	24	27
FLOUR—		
Town made	57	64
Country Marks ..	47	49
Norfolk & Suffolk	46	48

BREAD.—LONDON, Saturday, December 21.—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 10d. to 10½d.; household ditto, 7½d. to 9½d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET.

MONDAY, December 23.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 7,619 head. In the corresponding week in 1856 we received 8,935; in 1855, 11,703; in 1854, 5,406; in 1853, 3,251; in 1852, 2,440; in 1851, 2,382; in 1850, 2,031 head. The show of foreign stock here to-day was limited, and chiefly in middling condition. The demand ruled heavy, at about previous quotations. At least two-thirds of the English beasts on offer were the refuse of last week; whilst their general quality was by no means prime. The trade, as a whole, was in a very uncertain state; but we have no change to notice in the quotations compared with Monday last. The best Scots and crosses sold at 5s. per 8 lbs. From other parts of England, 600 fresh breeds. From Scotland, 6; from Ireland, 22. With sheep we were scantily supply. Nevertheless, all breeds were very dull, and prices ruled almost nominal. The best Downs and half-breds may be quoted at 5s. per 8lbs. The few calves in the market met a slow inquiry, at late rates. In pigs scarcely a transaction took place. The supply was very limited. The nominal top price was 4s. 2d. per 8lbs.

Per 8lbs. to sink the Offal.

	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.
Inf. coarse beasts	3 4	to 3 6	Prime Southdown	4 10	to 5 0
Second quality	3 8	4 0	Lambs	0 0	0 0
Prime large oxen	4 2	4 6	Lge. coarse calves	4 4	4 8
Prime Scots, &c.	4 8	5 0	Prime small	4 10	5 4
Coarse inf. sheep	3 4	3 8	Large hogs	3 4	3 8
Second quality	3 10	4 2	Neat sm. porkers	3 10	4 2
Pr. coarse woolled	4 4	4 8			

Quarter-old store pigs, 23s. to 26s. each.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, December 23.

Unusually large supplies of meat are on sale here for Christmas consumption. A full average business is doing in most kinds, at late rates. Last week's imports into London were 218 packages from Hamburg, 17 from Harlingen, and 39 from Rotterdam.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.
Inferior beef	3 0	to 3 4	Inf. mutton	3 0	3 4
Middling ditto	3 6	3 8	Middling ditto	3 6	4 0
Prime large do.	3 10	4 0	Prime ditto	4 2	4 6
Do. small do.	4 2	4 6	Veal	3 10	4 6
Large pork	3 0	3 4	Lamb	0 0	0 0
Small pork	3 10	4 2			

COVENT GARDEN MARKET, LONDON, Saturday, Dec. 21.—Notwithstanding the approach of the Christmas festivities, with their attendant abundance of evergreens, trade is stated to be unusually dull, and prices to be receding. Importations of foreign goods are still heavy. Hot-house grapes still realise fair prices. Large quantities of St. Michael oranges are now arriving, and they bid fair to be unusually fine as regards quality. Pears and apples comprise the usual varieties now in season. Chesnuts continue to make their appearance in large quantities, and they are exceedingly fine in quality. Potatoes have not altered in price since our last report. Flowers chiefly consist of orchids, Chinese primulas, pelargoniums, mignonette, and roses.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, December 23.—The recent concessions in prices have not had the effect, so far, of stimulating our market, which continues in the same heavy state, with a hand-to-mouth trade only. The foreign markets show a better tone, but the actual business transacted during the past week has been very small. Prices of both Bavarians and Belgians remain without material alteration. New York advices to the 7th inst. indicate no change in the market. Mid and East Kent, 6*l.* 15s., 8*l.* 15s. to 10*l.* 10s; Weald of Kents, 6*l.*, 6*l.* 10s. to 7*l.* 7s.; Sussex, 6*l.*, 6*l.* 6s. to 6*l.* 15s.; Farnhams 8s., 8*l.* 15. to 10*l.*; Bavarians, 4*l.* 10s., 5*l.* 12s. to 7*l.*; Belgians, 3*l.* 15s., 4*l.* 4s. to 4*l.* 15; yearlings, 5*l.* 10s., 6*l.* to 6*l.* 15s.

PROVISIONS, Monday, Dec. 23.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 1,224 firkins butter, and 3,109 bales bacon, and from foreign ports, 21,620 casks, &c., butter, and 922 bales bacon. The demand for Irish butter is very limited, and there is scarcely anything doing; foreign meets a steady sale, with little change in prices. The bacon market has ruled very dull, and sales being pressed, prices declined 3s. to 4s. per cwt.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, Dec. 23.—These markets are less extensively supplied with potatoes. The demand has improved, and prices have an upward tendency. The import into London last week consisted of 1,604 sacks from Dunkirk; 585 bags from Harlingen; 32 casks from Hamburg; 181 tons from Honfleur; 644 sacks from Boulogne; 60 tons 2 sacks from Caen; 47 packages from Rotterdam, and 120 tons from Groningen. Regents, 120s. to 180s. per ton; flukes, 130s. to 160s.; rocks, 100s. to 130s.; French, 80s. to 90s.

SEED, Monday, Dec. 23.—Some fine qualities of new red English cloverseed are now being shown, mostly held too high for the views of the buyers at this early part of the season, and not many sales were effected. Good French can be bought at moderate prices, but sales are not numerous. Trefoils are generally held for previous values, but not much passing in any sort. Tares for spring growing are inquired for, but few samples of new English are yet offering.

WOOL, Monday, Dec. 23.—There is no change to notice in the demands for English wool. So few transactions have taken place on home account that prices may be considered nominal, whilst the inquiry for export has fallen off considerably.

OIL, Monday, Dec. 23.—For linseed oil there has been but little inquiry, and prices have had a drooping tendency. The demand for rape oil has fallen off, at declining rates. Olive oils have moved off slowly, and coccanut as well as palm oils have been neglected.

TALLOW, Monday, Dec. 23.—The market is rather flat. P.Y.C. on the spot is quoted at 43s. 3d. Town tallow, 41s. 9d. net cash.

COAL, Monday, Dec. 23.—The markets are extremely heavy to-day, at the following quotations: Hetton's 20s., Haswell 19s. 6d., Hetton's Lyons 17s. 3d., New Belmont 17s. 3d. Fresh ships, 34; left last day, 20.

Advertisements.

CONSUMPTION HOSPITAL, BROMPTON —There is now a VACANCY for an ASSISTANT PHYSICIAN at this Institution, for which applications are to be sent in on or before January 1st.

The Election is vested in the Committee of Management, and the office may be held in conjunction with another hospital appointment.

COOPER COOPER and CO. beg to intimate that they are now SELLING TEA of this year's growth, 1867-8. This is the first picking (the May picking of the present year), and it unquestionably the finest tea the world produces.—50, King William-street, London-bridge, and 63, Bishopsgate-street Within, London, E.C.

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3. The finest Kyshow Congou (the prince of teas), 3s. a lb. This is brisk, rich, true Pekoe Souchong-flavoured tea, perfect in strength, perfect in quality, beautifully manipulated, full of flower; a tea to sip, to dwell upon, to turn over on the palate as an alderman does his turtle; suitable for the drawing-room, the boudoir, the cottage, the palace, the toiling millions as well as the upper ten thousand; the former cannot drink a more economical tea, the latter, with all their wealth, cannot buy better tea.

4. The finest Assam Congou, 3s. a lb. This is very strong tea, of Indian growth, draws a deep red liquor, is very pungent, a little coarse, but drinks full in the mouth. It is quite a distinct class of tea, rather peculiar, and not appreciated by all; in fact, to like it requires an acquired taste.

5. The finest Oolong, 3s. a pound. This is high burnt, very pungent tea, and is an especial favourite with the tea-drinking public in America, among whom it is more esteemed than in England; in fact, the Americans drink hardly any other tea. It draws a pale liquor, and resembles green tea in many respects.

6. The finest Canton scented Pekoe, 3s. a lb. This is a fine, wiry leaf, strongly scented tea, of peculiar piquancy and sharpness of flavour, and is frequently used to fetch up the flavour of second-class teas. It is more frequently used as a curiosity, and as an experiment than by the tea-drinking public; it is, in fact, a fancy tea.

7. The finest Foo Chow scented Pekoe, 3s. a lb. This is a small, closely twisted leaf, scented with jessamine flower. When infused, it exhales a rich and fragrant perfume, which is perhaps less grateful to the palate than to the other senses.

8. The finest scented Caper, 3s. a lb. This is a small, shotty leaf, very compact and heavy, drinks very brisk and pungent. It is rather a plebeian tea, but is occasionally tried by diligent seekers after excellence, who at last settle down to the "Princely Kyshow."

No other price for black tea.

LIST OF FINE GREEN TEAS.

9. The finest Moyune Hyson, 4s. a lb. This tea is delicately fine. Its flavour resembles that of the cowslip, and the colour of the infusion is marvellously like cowslip wine. It possesses the finest flavour of all green teas. It is principally consumed in Russia.

10. The finest Young Hyson, 4s. a lb. This is a small, compact leaf, and the really fine (such as Cooper Cooper and Co. sell) is exceedingly strong, and of a very fine almond flavour.

11. The finest Moyune Gunpowder, 4s. a lb. This tea is much esteemed in England. It is brisk, high-burnt flavour, shotty in leaf, and heavy; it is not so fine or so pure in flavour as Hyson, but its great strength renders it a favourite with many.

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13. The finest Imperial, 4s. a lb. This is a large knotty leaf tea, very strong, but not much in flavour; but when really fine is sought after by the curious.

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There are other classes of tea, but these are the choicest and best. Cooper, Cooper, and Co. recommend consumers to try the first four on the list—Souchong, Monong, Kyshow, and Assam. By having a small parcel of each of these they will be enabled to judge for themselves and select the flavour suitable to their taste, and then by sending for the one approved of by number, they may always rely upon having exactly the same character of tea.

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